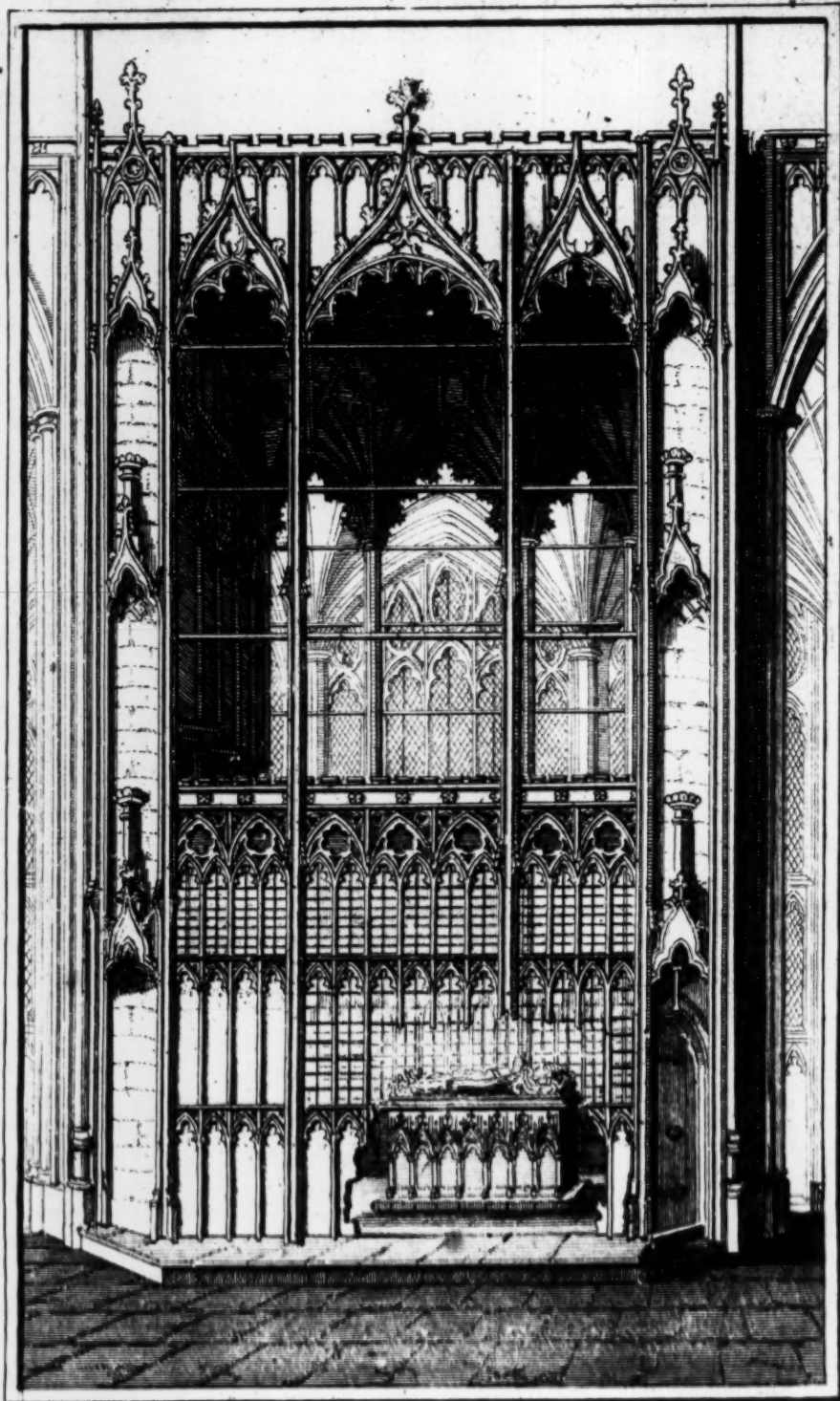


To front the Title page

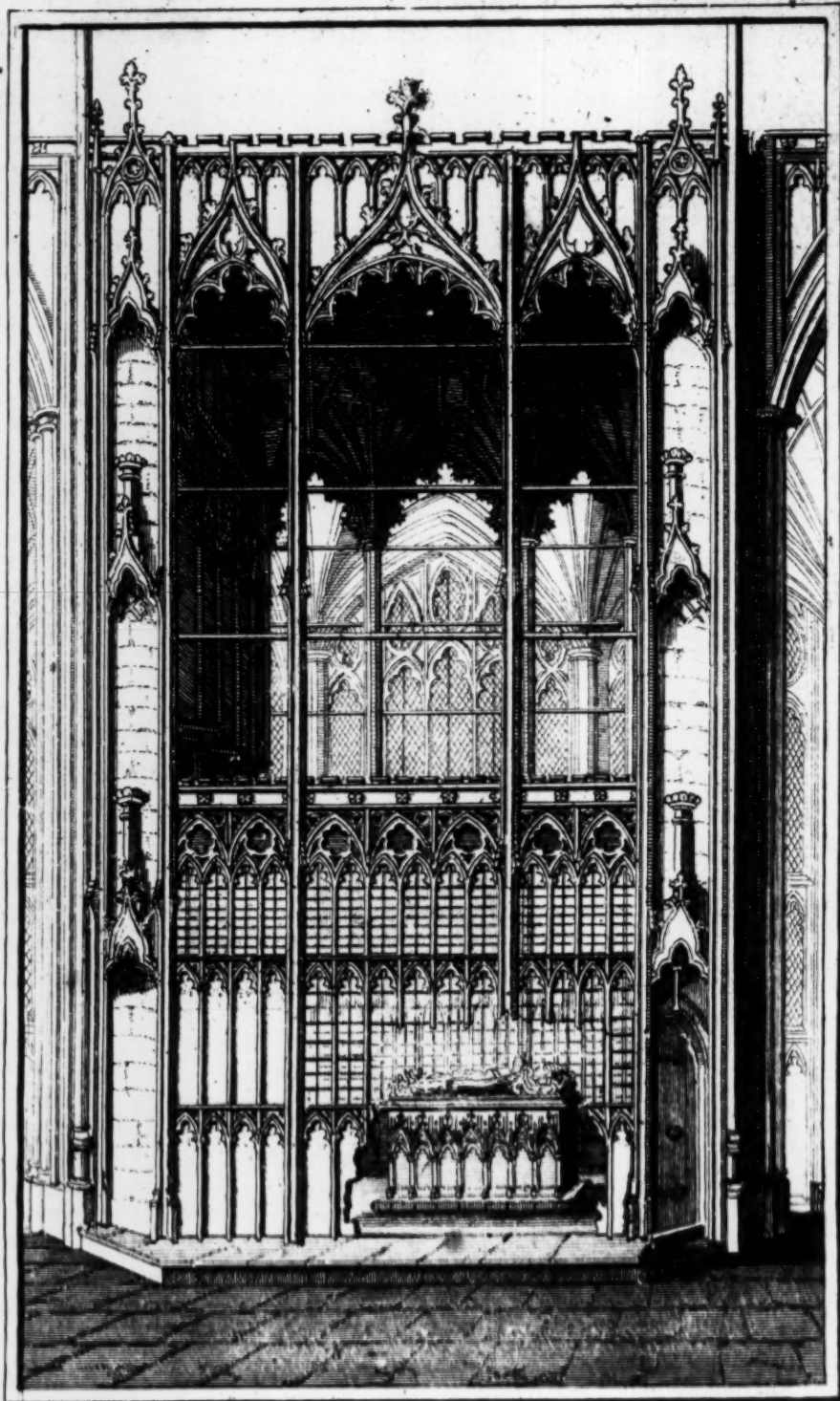


*Cantaria et Monumentum Willm de Wykeham
Epi Wint in Ecclesia Cathedrali Winton*

J. Taylor sculp.

J. Paton sculp.

To front the Title page



*Cantaria et Monumentum Willm de Wykeham
Epi Wint in Ecclesia Cathedrali Winton*

J. Taylor sculp.

J. Paton sculp.

6.C.C

THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM,
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Collected from Records, Registers, Manuscripts,
and other Authentic Evidences :

By ROBERT LOWTH, D.D. K,

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM,
And Chaplain in Ordinary to HIS MAJESTY.

THE SECOND EDITION corrected.

Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo. VIRG.
Francis Hargrave.



LONDON,

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; and
R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall.

MDCCCLIX.

5



DEDICATION
iv
and intention if I did not endeavour
to obtain the same patronage for his
Memory and his Reputation.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

B E N J A M I N,
LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

MY LORD,

THE great and good Man, of
whose Life I have given an
authentic, however imperfect, ac-
count, in the most earnest and solemn
manner recommended his two Colle-
ges, that is, his Estate, his Family,
his Children, his dearer Self, to
the care and protection of his Suc-
cessors the Bishops of Winchester.
I should not act agreeably to his will

iv DEDICATION.

and intention, if I did not endeavour to obtain the same patronage for his Memory and his Reputation.

Your Lordship hath long executed the Trust thus devolved upon You in such a manner as demands the most grateful acknowledgements of those Societies: You have treated them upon all occasions with all the tenderness of an indulgent Parent; and if at any time the duty of that Trust hath required You to interpose with authority, your decisions have been wholly disinterested and perfectly upright; You have acted just as He, whose Substitute You were, had prescribed; just in every respect as He would have acted Himself.

But

DEDICATION. v.

But this address, My Lord, is not more necessary on account of the Subject, than it is in respect of the Author. Your Lordship, unfollicated and unasked, called him from one of those Colleges to a Station of the first Dignity in your Diocese; and took the earliest opportunity of accumulating your favour upon him, and of adding to that Dignity a suitable support. These obligations he is now the more ready thus publicly to acknowledge, as he is removed out of the reach of farther favours of the like kind. And tho' he hath relinquished the advantages so generously conferred upon him, yet he shall always esteem himself highly honoured in having once enjoyed the

vi DEDICATION.

patronage of the great Advocate of
Civil and Religious Liberty.

I am with the greatest Respect and
Gratitude,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most Obligated and most

Obedient Servant,

ROBERT LOWTH.

P R E F A C E.

THE following collection was begun, and was pretty far advanced, several years ago, while the author had the happiness of being a member of one of the Colleges founded by the great Prelate, who is the subject of it. It was partly interrupted by pursuits of another kind, and partly deferred in hopes of farther opportunities of enlarging his materials: and it is now offered to the public, not as full and complete in any respect, but as the whole result of his most diligent inquiries into a subject rendered very obscure by the darkness of the times to which it belongs, and in which he despairs of being able to acquire any considerable accession of light.

It has long been a common complaint among those, whose respect and gratitude

has raised in them a curiosity not easily satisfied with regard to their great Benefactor, that so few particulars of the life and actions of so eminent a person have been with certainty delivered down to us; and that the traces that remain of domestic tradition concerning him, are so very obscure and imperfect. Chaundeler * began with this complaint three hundred years ago: by his attempt to write upon the subject he has shewn, that he did not want a good will; but by his performance he has contributed very little towards removing the obscurity of which he so much complains. Much might have been then done by a diligent inquiry properly conducted; but the most able men of that time knew not either what advantages they had, or how to make use

* “Wilhelmi vita ferme ignota est, & pauci aut
 “nulli extant de ea scripti libri; quod non sine ad-
 “miratione dico, tam excelsum & gloriosum virum a
 “memoria hominum excidere, cum vix quinquaginta
 “& octo anni ab ejus morte transferunt.” Chaundeler.
 MS. in Biblioth. Coll. Nov. pag. 42.

“Nos quid honoris, quid laudis, quid gloriæ, fun-
 “datori nostro tanto contulimus, qui nihil ferme de
 “beatis ejus moribus & vita sollicite exquirentes, proh
 “pudor immemores beneficii, quasi morbidum patimur
 “letargum?” Ibid. pag. 4.

P R E F A C E. ix

of them. The age was in itself dark: and the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster not only obstructed all knowledge, but must have suppressed the memory of the times immediately preceding, and destroyed many of the evidences of history.

In the next century, after the revival of learning, and when it had made considerable advances, a more regular and extensive inquiry into this subject was undertaken and pursued with better success. Dr. Thomas Martin, chancellor of the diocese of Winchester under bishop Gardiner, wrote the life of Wykeham in latin. He seems not so much to have wanted diligence in collecting proper materials, as care and judgement in digesting and composing them. His account is full of mistakes: his relation of facts, and the course even of public affairs in the most important parts, is extremely confused and inaccurate: and besides, were his relation of facts ever so accurate, yet he writes in so rhetorical and declamatory a style, that his reader, if he does not presently throw aside his book, will be disposed to suspect the truth of what he delivers with such a
per-

x P R E F A C E.

perpetually laboured exaggeration. This life of Wykeham was first published in 4to in the year 1597, several years after the death of the author. Perhaps it never was perfectly finished and corrected by him. It was reprinted at Oxford, without any correction or improvement, by Dr. Nicholas, Warden of Winchester College, in the year 1690. The republication of this work seems to indicate the prevailing opinion of that time to have been, and the same opinion has continued to prevail ever since, that hardly any new light was to be expected upon this subject.

These prejudices had not such influence on the author of the present inquiry, as to prevent his examining, whether they were well founded or not. He soon found, that it would be a very easy matter to give a fuller, a more accurate, and more certain account of the life of Wykeham, than had been already given: but whether it would be worth while to attempt to write a new account upon materials, which, though larger and more authentic than had been made use of before, were like to be by no means sufficient to furnish out a just and complete piece of history; this

P R E F A C E. xi

was a question which he could not so soon resolve with himself. What determined him at last to this undertaking was the examination of Wykeham's Register, which is still preserved at Winchester in the office of the register of the chancellor of the diocese. He saw, that this monument of Wykeham's public acts, which is as full, as accurate, and as perfect, as any thing extant in its kind, containing a diary of thirty-seven years, would not only itself supply many important facts; but would serve moreover as a test, to which other facts and circumstances might be brought, to be tried by a continued series of sure and infallible dates, and by such trial to be most evidently disproved or verified: and that this alone, as it had not before been consulted for any such purpose, afforded a foundation, upon which a more firm and more ample structure might be raised, than had hitherto been attempted. Having thus gotten a sure ground-work for his design, he used his utmost diligence in collecting all the best and most authentic materials, that lay within his knowledge or his reach: and in digesting and composing them, he has chiefly

chiefly studied clearness of method, and plainness of narration: his view has not been elegance and ornament, but evidence and truth; nor does he pretend to entertain and amuse, but merely to inform and explain. He has therefore been careful to affirm nothing positively without sufficient warrant, and to give exact references to his authorities. And that the reader may be able to judge, what degree of credit is due to the several authorities so frequently cited, it will be proper in this place to give him a particular description, and an exact account, of such of them as are not commonly to be met with, or generally known. They here follow under the several titles by which they are referred to.

Registrum Wykeham. The Register of Wykeham before mentioned consists of two very large volumes in folio very fairly written on vellum. The contents of these volumes are particularly specified in the general title of the register itself, which is as follows.

“ Incipit Registrum de actis & gestis
 “ reverendi Patris domini Wilhelmi de
 “ Wikeham Dei Gratia Wyntonienſis Epif-
 “ copi,

“ copi, cui de episcopatu Wyntoniensi
 “ per felicis recordationis Urbanum divina
 “ providentia Papam quintum per viam
 “ reservationis fuit provisum sub data Vi-
 “ terbii II^{do} Idus Julii pontificatus sui
 “ anno quinto. Et consecratus fuit in
 “ ecclesia Londoniensi per venerabilem pa-
 “ trem Dom. Simonem tunc archiepif-
 “ copum Cantuariensem assistentibus sibi
 “ venerabilibus patribus Dominis Simone
 “ London. & Roberto Saresburien. episcopis
 “ die dominica quæ fuit decima dies men-
 “ sis Oct. an. Dom. MCCCLXVII, prout in-
 “ ferius clare patet.

“ In prima parte dicti Registri conti-
 “ nentur Confirmationes Abbatum & Prio-
 “ rum Electorum, necnon Installationes ac
 “ Collationes & Institutiones quorumcunq;
 “ beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum per eundem
 “ Dom. Wynton. episcopum tempore suo
 “ factæ.

“ In secunda parte inseruntur Ordines
 “ celebrati per dictum Patrem in sua Dioc.
 “ a tempore consecrationis suæ, & Literæ
 “ dimissoriæ per eum concessæ.

“ In

“ In tertia * parte transcribuntur Bullæ
 “ Papales, mandata Cardinalium, & li-
 “ teræ pro Convocatione cleri, Commis-
 “ siones & aliæ literæ, & Memoranda tem-
 “ pore suo executæ, & executiones eorun-
 “ dem, & Licentiæ non residendi, cum
 “ aliis ibidem particulariter prout gesta
 “ sunt designatis, & una cum Testamentis,
 “ & Dispensationibus cum illegitime na-
 “ tis.

“ In quarta parte continentur Brevia
 “ Regia dicto patri directæ, ac Responsa,
 “ & executiones, & returna brevium præ-
 “ dictorum.”

Tractatus in Veteri Registro Collegii
 Wintoniensis. This treatise is inserted near
 the beginning of a Miscellaneous Volume,
 being for the most part a register, which
 is always here referred to under the title of
 Vet. Registr. Coll. Wint. The title of
 this treatise at length is, “ Libellus seu
 “ Tractatus de prosapia vita & gestis ve-
 “ nerabilis patris & Domini Domini Wil-
 “ helmi Wykeham nuper episcopi Wyn-

* Towards the middle of the third part there begins
 a new numeration of folios. In the references to this
 part the letters a. and b. denote the 1st and 2d numera-
 tion.

“ ton.” At the end is added; “ Expli-
 “ cit tractatus seu libellus de ———
 “ [ut prius] — editus anno domini
 “ mccccxxiv, qui fuit annus xx
 “ post obitum ejusdem patris, & regni
 “ regis Henrici Sexti annus secundus.”

This precise date pretty well determines the authority of this manuscript. Martin frequently cites this treatise as written by one Robert Heers, or Herefius, as he calls him, a member of one of Wykeham's Colleges. No one of that name was ever Fellow of either of the Colleges, if we may trust the registers. He probably means Robert Heete, who was admitted scholar of Winchester College, in the year 1401; succeeded to New College in 1407; became Fellow of Winchester College in 1420; and died in 1432. His regard * and affection for the founder and the society appears by his numerous donations to Winchester college, in books, plate, &c. and his age agrees perfectly well with his being the author; but I can find no evidence of it. The author calls

* Vet. Registr. Coll. Wint.

himself " Servus humilis & alumpnus
 " reverendi Patris domini Wilhelmi
 " Wykeham"; and he addresses the fel-
 lows by the words " Karissimi Socii:" so
 that he was certainly fellow of one of the
 Colleges; and as the treatise appears to
 have been originally inserted into this re-
 gister of Winchester College, he was most
 probably fellow of that College, when he
 wrote it; and perhaps was the abovementioned Robert Heete. Tradition might
 have delivered him down as such, and his
 name have been a little mistaken and al-
 tered in passing to Martin. The pedigree
 which I have given in Appendix No. I.
 Martin attributes to the same author. It
 is indeed in the same volume, on the in-
 side of the cover of the book, at the be-
 ginning; but it has no relation to the
 Treatise, and is hardly so ancient as that,
 or the supposed author's time: yet it could
 not be much later, as Wykeham's cousin
 german's daughter was living when it was
 drawn up.

Brevis Chronica. The whole title is,
 " Brevis Chronica de ortu vita & gestis no-
 " bilibus reverendi Domini Wilhelmi de
 " Wykeham olim Episcopi Wynton."

M S.

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MS. in Bibliotheca Coll. Nov. Oxon. It is little more than an abridgement of the above mentioned treatise, and seems to have been written soon after it. It has been published by Wharton in the Second Volume of his *Anglia Sacra*, who has by mistake ascribed it to Thomas Chaundeler.

Chaundeler. "Collocutiones de laudabili vita & moribus & christiana perfectione Wilhelmi de Wykeham. Auctore Thoma Chaundeler utriusque Collegii Custode, dein Oxon. postea Wellensi Cancellario." MS. in Bibliotheca Coll. Nov. in the same volume with the foregoing. This volume belonged to Thomas de Beckynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to whom Chaundeler addressed and presented his Dialogues. The Dialogues, tho' they are very long, afford but little historical matter, which the Author has chiefly from the Short Chronicle, which he often cites as * of good authority.

* "Et ne meo solum credar confusus ingenio, aut quæque arroganter præsumere quæ probare non valeam, auscultate quid in Breui quadam & prius memorata Chronica de eo scriptum viderim." Chaundeler, pag. 49.

He says it was scarce fifty-eight years from the death of Wykeham to the time when he wrote, which plainly determines it to the beginning of the year 1462.

MS. Coll. Wint. This Manuscript, in small quarto, consists of two parts written at different times. One of them contains chiefly a taxation of Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices; and particularly of those of the Diocese of Winchester †. This was written in the time of Adam de Orleton, (as appears from page 21, and 23.) who was Bishop of Winchester from A. D. 1333, to 1345. It belonged to Wykeham himself, and was by him given to his College at Winchester, as appears

† Of the Benefices in the Bishop of Winchester's patronage, the then real value, as well as the taxation, is given in this MS. This part is curious; and may be of use in the resolution of several questions relating to those times. Thus, for instance, in a matter that relates to the present subject: The taxation of the Bishoprick of Winchester was at that time, according to the MS. 2977 l. 15 s. 10 d. If we may suppose it to have borne the same proportion to the real value, as the sum of the taxation of the Benefices there given to the sum of their real value, that is, as 2353 $\frac{1}{2}$ marks to 4227 $\frac{1}{2}$ marks; the real value of the Bishoprick of Winchester in the time of Adam de Orleton must have been 5348 l. † nearly: at large, we may be allowed to reckon it above 5000 l. per annum.

by

by the following article in Vet. Registr. Coll. Wint.

“ Item 1 liber dat. Colleg. per Domi-
“ num Fundatorem, in quo continentur
“ taxationes omnium ecclesiarum in sin-
“ gulis dioc. per totam Angliam, qui fue-
“ rat in custodia Johannis Exham Execut.
“ Domini Thomæ Aylward; modo in
“ manibus Custodis.”

To this were afterwards prefixed a few additional leaves, containing an account of the life of Wykeham, and especially of his donations and charities. It seems to have been written soon after Wykeham's death, by one who knew him personally, and had access to the accounts of his Stewards.

By the foregoing article of the Winchester College Register it appears, that the book, to which it is prefixed, was in the custody of Dr. Thomas Aylward; he was Rector of Havant, and one of Wykeham's Executors, by which means the book seems to have come into his hands: and it continued in his hands till he died. Perhaps he might have added to it this short account of his friend and patron; but whoever was the author, it seems at least to be more ancient than the Short Chronicle,

nicle, or the Treatise ; and, as far as it goes, to be the most authentic account of Wykeham that is extant. Chaundeler mentions this MS. as what he had had some time before in his hands, and by memory mentions several particulars that are contained in it. “ † Utinam a me semel visam cartulam concederetur intueri rursus ; illam loquor, quam nostri Fundatoris laudibus plenam, & christianissimis quibusdam ejus inscriptam operibus, in Collegii Beatæ Mariæ Wynton. Thesauro & vidi & legi. Sed cum Wentani Collegii præsiderem Custos, preciosi illius inventi thesauri indignum me arbitrabar custodem ; ea de re Domino Wilhelmo [Waynflete] Episcopo jam Wynton. custodiendum secretius, quid rogo dicerem, an reposui, an obtuli ? Ibi de refocillatione viginti quatuor pauperum, quos a suscepto primum episcopatu quotidiano more servaverat : ibi de subsidiis, vectigalibus, tributis, rebusque hujusmodi exactis, vel Regi Angliæ debitis, quæ & quotiens pro suis tenantibus pius pater exsolverat : ibi—de cordis compunctione, de ipsius in Deum

† Chaundeler, pag. 57.

“ devotissima

“ devotissima mentis elevatione, intente
 “ adeo, ut quam sæpe, &, si bene recolo,
 “ semper, in audiendis missis vel celebran-
 “ dis amarissime fleret.”

MS. Coll. Nov. This manuscript in folio contains, I. “ Controversia inter Do-
 “ minum Wilhelmum de Wykeham &
 “ Magistros Hospitalis Sanctæ Crucis pro-
 “ pe Wynton. II. Injunctiones factæ Pri-
 “ ori & Conventui Ecclesiæ Cathedralis
 “ Wynton. post tertiam visitationem Do-
 “ mini;” * and in like manner, Injunctions
 to all the Religious Houses of the Augus-
 tine and Benedictine Orders throughout
 the Diocese of Winchester. Harpsfield
 takes notice of these injunctions, but wri-
 ting from his memory, he gives no very
 exact account of them. Martin represents
 them, as a regular treatise of ecclesiasti-
 cal discipline and the monastic life: he
 guessed so from Harpsfield’s account, and
 from what he was told were the three first
 words of the first injunction, “ Pastorem
 “ vigilare oportet;” for he had never seen
 them. This MS. also belonged to Wyke-

* A very fair Copy of these Injunctions to the Prior
 and Convent of Winchester, perhaps more perfectly
 finished, is contained in MS. Harleian. N° 328.

ham himself; for the injunctions are the original draughts corrected. It came afterward into the hands of Robert Shirborn, Master of St. Cross Hospital, afterwards Bishop of Chichester. The marginal notes throughout the book are in his hand writing, as appears by the note at the beginning in the same hand; viz. "Ro. Shirborn
" *custos fuit istius hospitalis an. r. H. vii.*
" *viii. vivo, nono, decimo. & inchoavit unde-*
" *cimum, de residuo disponat Deus.*"

MS. penes Dom. Episcopum Wint. a MS. in small 4to, containing 137 folios, consisting of copies of Records relating to the Hospital of St. Cross: communicated by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester. It was written in the year 1389, as appears from fol. 22; at which time John de Campeden was Master of the Hospital: probably it was written by his direction, and belonged to him; for towards the end there are several instruments inserted relating to the Rectory of Chiriton, and one at the beginning containing the boundaries of that Parish, of which he was also at the same time Rector: whereas there is very little else, but what concerns St. Cross only. By the help of this MS. some few corrections

tions and additions have been made in this second Edition; chiefly in Sect. III. The Title of it is as follows: " Liber iste continet in parte copias cartarum, bullarum, rentalium, custumariorum, evidentiarum, libertatum, hospitalis sive domus elemosinarie S^{re} Crucis in Sparkeforde juxta civitatem Wynton. quam fundavit & dotavit bone memorie quondam Henricus Wynton. Episcopus dictus Blesens. frater Regis Stephani nuper Regis Anglie."

MS. Harleian. N^o 1616, in the British Museum. A MS. in 8vo. containing 128 pages, consisting of copies of Records relating to St. Cross Hospital, which are for the most part the same with those in the preceding MS.; but not all that are there: and on the other hand, having some things that are not there. It was written before the year 1386; as appears from some additions in the vacant leaves at the beginning, (pag. 3.) of the same hand with those in the Bishop of Winchester's MS. It probably belonged likewise to John de Campeden, at that time Master.

MS. Harleian. N^o 6217. A paper book in folio containing 19 leaves. It is intituled, (by a late hand) " An Historicall Relation

“ of certain passages about the end of K.
“ Edward the 3d, and of his death;” without name or date: the hand writing about two hundred years old. It appears to be a Translation from the Latin of an earlier age: for the writer, where he doubts of the sense of his Author, or of the propriety of his own expression, drawing a line under his own words, or leaving a blank space in his text, sets down the Latin words in the margin; as concerning Edward the 3d’s death, “ the disease of ” (in the margin) “ anuli.” And the Author seems to speak sometimes, as if he lived in or near the time, of which he writes; as in the following reflections on the death of the Prince of Wales: “ Truly unless God (whoe defended hym in battayle, and *bayth now* taken hym from this worlde, perchaunce that we shoulde put our truste more confidently in God) holde under hys blessed hand, least the miserable Englishe men be trodden downe; yt ys to be feared, that our enemyes, whoe compass us on everye syde, will rage upon us even unto utter destruction; and will taik our place and cuntrye. Arise, Lorde, and
“ helpe

“ helpe us, and defende us for thy names
“ faike.” The same may be observed in
some other passages, which are quoted from
it in the Notes. It seems too to have been
written recentibus odiis, with all the acrimony of fresh resentment, by the severity with which the Duke of Lancaster, Alice Perrers, and all of that party, are treated. It is only an extract or part of some large historical work; for it begins abruptly, “ The nyghte following”—: and it treats of these transactions more amply and particularly, than any of the common accounts of those times. What degree of credit is due to this anonymous Historian, is left to the Reader’s judgement to determine. He will find his testimony impartially cited, where it seemed material; as well when it tends to invalidate the Author’s opinion, as when it confirms it.

Liber H, Coll. Wint. An ancient leger-book belonging to Winchester College, marked with the letter H; containing records and evidences of various kinds, relating to the first foundation and endowment of the college.

Rot. Parl. The Rolls of Parliament preserved in the Tower of London. A complete

plete copy of them, with several other MSS. was given to the library of Queen's College in Oxford, by Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of state in Charles the II^d's time. By the favour of that learned Society, the author had the use of as many volumes of them, as he had occasion to consult.

Rot. Pat. Tanner. The learned and most accurate antiquary Dr. Tanner, late Bishop of St. Asaph, made extracts from the Patent Rolls in the Tower of grants to William of Wykeham, which he communicated, in the year 1732, to Dr. Coxed then Warden of New College. These extracts of the Bishop are cited, as above, with his name added.

MS. Rymer. Besides the collection of records published by Rymer, there was a great number of records transcribed and digested by him into proper order, but not published, being such as were supposed to be of less general use. This manuscript collection consists of fifty-nine large volumes in folio; which were designed to be repositied in the Cotton library. The contents of each volume, and the titles of the several records in each, are given at the end of the XVIIth volume of the printed collection.

These seem to have been wholly neglected by our late historians, though with regard to personal history, and incidental matters, they may perhaps be of equal use with the printed volumes. They were some years ago in the hands of Samuel Burroughs, Esq; Master in Chancery, and one of the Trustees for the Cotton library. They are now to be found in their proper place in the British Museum.

There are hardly any of the rest of the authorities, but what will be sufficiently known and understood of themselves, as they are referred to.

Though no inconsiderable progress has been here already made in collecting materials from the Public Records; namely, from the Parliament Rolls and the Patent Rolls, which may well be supposed to have afforded more, and those of more use and importance, than any others are like to do; and in some degree from all the rest, by means of the collections of Rymer, both printed and manuscript; yet it is not to be doubted, but that a farther search in the several public offices would supply particular facts hitherto unknown, that might give new light, as well into the general state of
the

the affairs of those times, as into Wykeham's personal history. In this persuasion, the author still had it in his view to try what might be done in this way: but he has never yet found sufficient leisure or opportunity for an undertaking, which requires much of both, and which perhaps had better be wholly let alone, than negligently and slightly performed; as a superficial and imperfect examination would probably have little other effect, than to discourage all attempts of the like kind for the future. Much less can he think in his present situation of ever being able properly to execute such a design. He must therefore content himself with recommending it to the two learned and flourishing Societies of Wykeham's foundation, as a matter which principally and nearly concerns them, and which he is sure they will be ready to promote to the utmost of their power, to consider of the properest method of supplying this deficiency. Perhaps a suitable encouragement on their part, both as a support of the expence, and a reward of the labour, of such a search, might induce some person of skill and experience to undertake it. At present he hopes they will

P R E F A C E. xxix

will receive with candor and indulgence these his endeavours; which were incited by no other motive than his earnest desire of expressing, in the best manner he was able, his sense of the great obligations, which he has to their great Founder and to Them. The ground at least is cleared, a foundation laid, and something of a plan given; and the materials here collected and disposed with all the exactness he is capable of, will so far be of use, considered only as materials. If to these any considerable accession should ever be made from the stores above mentioned, he is persuaded there will not be wanting in those Societies, such as will be ready and able to make the proper use of them, and to set them forth to the best advantage; that so the history of their pious and munificent Founder may be one day rendered in every respect as complete, as the nature and condition of the subject, so long too much neglected, will now admit.

ERRATA.

Page 20. Note ⁷, l. 5. read, *lathomi*; and l. 7. *lathomum*.
 P. 27. l. 8. for *following*, r. 1363. P. 96. l. 10. r. *sub-*
stitute. P. 103. l. 7. r. *protestation*. P. 150. l. 27. r.
article. P. 168. l. 2. for *a*, r. *as*; and l. 4. a comma
 after *admit*. P. 185. l. 8. r. *same*.

APPENDIX. P. ii. l. 15. r. *Radulphus*. P. v. for
 N^o VI. r. IV. P. xvi. l. 4. r. *eleccionem*; and l. 30.
eleccione. P. xix. l. 11. for *Ei*, r. *Et*. P. xxiv. l. 24.
 r. *die*. P. xxv. l. 33. after *celeritate*, add *et*. P. xxxiii.
 l. 14. r. *Mariæ*; and l. 15. *Regina*. P. xxxviii. l. 38.
 for *viginti*, r. *triginta*.

O LOWTH, whilst WYKEHAM's various worth you
trace,

And bid to distant times his Annals shine,
Indulge another Bard of WYKEHAM's race

In the fond wish to add his name to thine.
From the same fount, with rev'rence let me boast,

The classic streams with early thirst I caught;
What time, they say, the Muses revel'd most,

When BIGG presided, and when BURTON taught:
But the same fate, which led me to the spring,

Forbad me farther to pursue the stream:
Perhaps as kindly; for, as Sages sing,

Of Chance and Fate full idly do we deem.
And sure in GRANTA's philosophic shade

Truth's genuine image beam'd upon my sight;
And slow-eyed Reason lent her sober aid

To form, deduce, compare, and judge aright.
Yes, ye sweet fields, beside your osier'd stream

Full many an Attic hour my youth enjoy'd,
Full many a friendship form'd, life's happiest dream,

And treasur'd many a bliss which never cloy'd.
Yet may the Pilgrim, o'er his temperate fare

At eve, with pleasing recollection say,
'Twas the fresh morn which strung his nerves to bear

The piercing beam, and useful toils of day:
So let me still with filial love pursue

The nurse and parent of my infant thought,
From whence the colour of my life I drew

When BIGG presided, and when BURTON taught.
O Names by me rever'd! — till memory die,

Till my deaf ear forget th' enchanting flow
Of verse harmonious, shall my mental eye

Trace back old time, and teach my breast to glow.

Peace

Peace to that honour'd Shade, whose mortal frame
 Sleeps in the bosom of its parent earth;
 Whilst the freed Soul, that boasts celestial flame,
 Perhaps now triumphs in a nobler birth.
 Perhaps with WYKEHAM, from some blissful bower,
 Applauds thy labours; or prepares the wreath
 For BURTON's generous toil.—Th' insatiate Power
 Extends his deathful sway o'er all that breathe;
 Nor aught avails it, that the virtuous Sage
 Forms future Bards, or WYKEHAMS yet to come;
 Nor aught avails it, that his green old age,
 From youth well spent, may seem re'lude the tomb;
 For BURTON too must fall. And o'er his urn,
 Whilst Science hangs her sculptur'd trophies round,
 The letter'd tribes of half an age shall mourn,
 Whose lyres he strung, and added sense to sound.
 Nor shall his candid ear, I trust, disdain
 This artless tribute of a feeling mind;
 And thou, O LOWTH, shalt own the grateful strain,
 Mean tho' it flow, was virtuously design'd.
 For 'twas thy work inspir'd the melting mood
 To feel and pay the sacred debt I ow'd;
 And the next virtue to bestowing good,
 Thou know'st, is gratitude for good bestow'd.

W. WHITEHEAD,
 Poet Laureat.

The

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APPENDIX.

THE

THE
L I F E
OF
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

S E C T I O N I.

*From the Birth of Wykeham to his being made
Bishop of Winchester.*

THAT natural curiosity, which leads
us to inquire into the particular
circumstances of the lives of such
as have in any way made themselves great-
ly eminent, cannot be more properly or
laudably employed, than in reviving the
memory of those illustrious persons, who
have more especially distinguished them-
B selves

selves by their beneficence and public spirit; by their endeavours to do good to their own age, and to posterity; to their country, and to mankind. In this case at least, it is not merely the effect of an idly inquisitive disposition, nor does it propose to itself only an empty amusement: it partakes in some measure of the same generous principle, which engages its attention; perhaps it arises from a mind possessed with a sense of benefits received, and is no improper exertion of that love, respect, and gratitude, which is due to the author of them. The subject of the following pages, may, I presume, in this respect, merit the attention of such as have a due regard for the memory of a man, who, besides his high station and great abilities in public affairs, was an eminent example of generosity and munificence; and much more of those, who have felt the beneficial influence of his liberality, who have been, or actually are, partakers of his bounty. It is indeed principally for the sake of these latter, that the present inquiry hath been undertaken: it will be pursued with that care, and fidelity, and strict regard to truth, which is due to the public in general; and,
for

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for the satisfaction of these in particular, even with what may perhaps be esteemed by others a minute and scrupulous exactness; in confidence that their veneration for the name of Wykeham, their generous Benefactor, will make every thing that relates to him interesting, and will not suffer them to think any particularities jejune, trifling, or insignificant, that in any wise tend to rescue his memory from oblivion, to verify his history, or to vindicate his character.

William Wykeham, or Of Wykeham, (for ¹ he uses both ways of expressing his name, but commonly the latter,) was ² born at Wykeham in Hampshire, in the year MCCCXXIV, in the 18th year of Edward the Second: consequently after the 7th of July, from which the years of Ed-

¹ He calls himself William Wykeham, not De Wykeham, in his Will; as also sometimes in his own Register: he is so called in Registr. Edyngdon; and in Rotuli computus Coll. Nov. Oxon. an. 1381; and in Leger-Book of the Church of Winchester, N^o I. very often. "A qua villa (says Chaundeler, MS. in Biblioth. Coll. Nov. p. 15.) cognomen est sortitus, ut etiam a plerisque Wilhelmus Wykeham appellaretur:" not De Wykeham; as I suppose he means.

² Brevis Chronica, & Chaundeler.

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ward the Second begin; and before the 27th of September of the same year; for on that day of the year MCCCCIV, on which he died, he is said to have been fully ³, or above, ⁴ eighty years old.

It is commonly supposed, that he took his name from the place of his birth, according to a custom much in use in those times, when surnames were not so appropriated to families, as to descend regularly from father to son, as they now do. There are however some circumstances, which at first sight seem to afford us sufficient reason to doubt of this. We meet with several of his kindred, living at the same time with him, who bore the same name: Nicholas Wykeham, ⁵ Archdeacon of Winchester,

³ Tractatus in Vet. Registr. Coll. Wint.

⁴ Brevis Chronica, & Chaundeler, p. 54.

⁵ Nicholas Wykeham, Clerk, Prebendary of Mapledurham in the church of Boseham, Chichester Diocese, in 1370; Archdeacon of Winchester, 1372; which he resigned, and became Archdeacon of Wilts, 1382; Warden of St. Nicholas's Hospital, Portsmouth, on the death of Richard Wykeham, and Rector of Witteney, Lincoln Diocese, being then L. L. D. 1378; Warden of New College Oxford, 1379; resigned it, 1389. Ordained Accolite and subdeacon, 1379; Priest, 1383. He was also Prebendary of Tymberbury in the church of Romefaye, Winchester Diocese. Registr. Wykeham.

and

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and Warden of New College, whom ⁶ he expressly calls his kinsman. Richard de Wykeham ⁷, Warden of St. Nicholas's Hospital, Portsmouth; the same probably with Richard Wykeham, called likewise his kinsman in the Rolls of Accompt of New College in the year 1377: John Wykeham ⁸, Rector of Mapledurham in the diocese of Winchester; who is mentioned in his will among his kindred, and was ⁹ admitted as such Fellow of his College. Add to these William, Thomas, and John Wykeham, admitted ¹ likewise Fellows of his College in the years 1387, 1390, and 1395 respectively; who ² were his great nephews, the sons of his niece Alice, the wife of William Perot,

⁶ See Appendix, N^o X.

⁷ Registr. Wykeham.

⁸ Ordained Accolite and Subdeacon in 1395; at that time Rector of Stockton, Sarum Diocese; afterward of Mapledurham, (or Buriton) Caulborne, Brighteston, and South-Waltham, successively. Registr. Wykeham.

⁹ Registr. Coll. Nov.

¹ Ibid.

² See Appendix, N^o I. H. III. and IV. William the eldest brother probably died before the Bishop without issue, upon which Thomas the second brother became the Bishop's heir: John the youngest died Fellow of New College, Civilian, in the year 1398. Registr. Coll. Nov.

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and took his surname instead of their father's. His kinsman John Fyvyan, ³ paid him the same compliment, and relinquished his own name for that of Wykeham. Both these instances seem to make it still more probable, that it was something more than a casual name taken from the place of his birth. He mentions his Father and Mother only by their Christian names, ⁴ John and Sybill: if their surname had been different from that which he bore himself, it would have been natural, if not necessary, to have mentioned it; if the same, there was plainly no occasion of expressing it, as implied of course.

I meet with a note in the First Register of New College ⁵, which if it does not con-

³ Call'd Johannes Wykeham, aliter dictus Fyvyan, Registr. Wykeham, Part I. fol. 121. In the year 1379, and 1380, he was ordained Accolite and Subdeacon by the name of John Fyvyan only; afterward went by the name of Wykeham. He was Rector of Eabberbury, then of Crondale upon his resignation, of the former; afterward of Broughton, Dioc. Line. presented by William of Wykeham as Patron. Registr. Wykeham. He appears to have been his kinsman by Registr. Coll. Nov. and in his will is placed among his kindred.

⁴ In the Statutes of both his Colleges. They are so called likewise in Brev Chron. and in Tractat. in Vet. Registr. Coll. Wint. and in MS. Coll. Wint.

⁵ At the bottom of the last page of the book, called Liber

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confirm this opinion, that Wykeham was properly his family-name⁶; yet shews at least that it is not altogether new and unprecedented. It is in the following terms:

" Hyt ys welle to be proved that wyl-
" lham wykeham bysshope off wynt-
" ton was borne in a towne in Hamp-
" chire called wykeham, and that hys
" grabnt fathers name was wykeham,
" although there hathe bin some doute
" of hys fathers name." The hand-
 writing, as well as the expression, of this Note carries with it evident marks of age; and yet, upon due consideration, I do not think it to be of sufficient antiquity, to give it any great weight in determining the present question.

And after all, we must have a care, lest, being prepossessed with notions taken from our own usages, we should be led into

Liber Albus. The other entries of the same page bear date 1456, and 1457. At the side of this note is written in another hand, " An old note concerning our Foun-
 " der." This last handwriting appears in several parts of the Book, in the margin, &c. and is Warden Culpeper's, or some other person's in his time, (that is, between 1573 and 1599) as is plain from folio 2.

⁶ Harpsfield, who was educated in both Wykeham's Colleges, is of this opinion: See his *Hist. Ecclesiast. Anglican.* p. 550.

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error in our reasonings upon those of former times. If we consider the uncertain state of family-names at the time of the birth of Wykeham, we shall not think it strange, that there should be such doubt with regard to the surname of his family; or even if it should appear, that he had properly no family-name at all. Surnames were introduced into England by the Normans at the Conquest: "But certain it is,"⁷ says Camden, that as the better sort, "even from the Conquest, by little and little, took surnames; so they were not settled among the common people fully until about the time of Edward the Second." As we must allow Wykeham to have been what the Romans called *novus homo*, so with regard to his surname, he might perhaps be strictly and literally the first of his family.

Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot help giving credit to the testimony of a⁸ Pedigree of Wykeham's family, preserved in an ancient Register of Winchester College, which mentions his father by the

⁷ See Camden's Remains, p. 106, &c.

⁸ See Appendix, N° I.

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name of John Longe; which, whether it was the proper surname of the family, or a personal bye-name given him on account of his stature, (in which case his true surname might be Aas, the same that was borne by his ⁹ brother Henry,) 'tis neither material nor possible to determine. This Pedigree must be allowed to be of good authority, as it was drawn up in the next age to that of Wykeham himself, as it is in many particulars confirmed by collateral evidence, and as there does not appear any reason to question the truth and exactness of any part of it. Whatever else has been alledged on this subject ought to be of little account: it is a point that must be determined by authority and evidence; and the authority of this Pedigree seems sufficient to maintain itself against all arguments whatsoever, that are only founded on probable supposition and conjecture.

His parents ¹ were persons of good reputation and character; but in mean circumstances. It has been said, that ² he

⁹ See also Appendix, N^o XVIII.

¹ Tractat. in Vet. Reg. Coll. Wint. Brev. Chron. & Chaundeler, p. 15.

² See below the quotations from Robert Glover and John Malverne.

him-

himself, or some of his ancestors were of servile condition: that is, had been Tenants in Villenage, or had held lands by certain customs and services owed to the Lord; which is considered as a kind of Servitude or Bondage by our Laws, and which was at that time, for the most part, the state and condition of the bulk of the common people of England. However, of his mother³, we are particularly informed, that she was well-born, and of a gentleman's family: which is moreover confirmed by the Pedigree before mentioned. The⁴ number of his contemporary relations, which we meet with occasionally mentioned, and upon undoubted authority, is surprisingly great, considering the distance of time, and the obscurity in which this part of his history lies; and seems to prove, that he was not of such very low extraction as some authors have represented him. They ap-

³ "Cujus ortus primordia ex parte matris nomine Sibillæ generosa prosapia natalibus legis [foran, legitimis] insignivit: pater vero ejus, Johannes nomine, progenitorum libertate dotatus, honestum moribus & gesturis se omnibus exhibebat." Tractat. in Vet. Reg. Coll. Wint. It is afterwards said of both his parents, that they were "honesti genere." Ibid.

⁴ See Appendix, N° XVIII.

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pear in general to have been persons of reputable condition, and of a middle station in life. On the other hand, I see no reason for rating his family higher: I am even inclined to think, that he himself disclaimed all farther pretensions. The celebrated Motto which he added to his Arms, (of which probably he might have received a grant when

“ The said Bishoppe bare his Armes diversly at
 “ two sondry tymes, as the Seals thereof, shewed by
 “ Sir Richard Fynes, testify. Before he was Bishoppe,
 “ when as yet he was but Archdeacon of Lincolne, he
 “ sealed but with one cheveron in his Armes between
 “ three roses: but after, when he was advanced to the
 “ Bishoppricke, he sealed with two cheverons between
 “ three roses: and so ar generally known to this day
 “ to be his without contradiction.—It hath been de-
 “ maunded of me by the sayd learned menne, whether
 “ the Armes which the said Bishoppe used were gyven
 “ unto him in respect of his dignity Episcopall, or
 “ were boren by him before, as receyved from his
 “ auncestry and race. Whereunto I coulde not an-
 “ swer affirmatively, because I had never seen mat-
 “ ter of the first allowance of them. But havynge read
 “ certyne learned wryters opinions of the sayd Bishoppe,
 “ which do agree in this, that he was *humilis conditionis*,
 “ and that he was called Wykeham, *a loco unde natus*
 “ *est, & non a parentibus*: as it is also affirmed in
 “ the chapter of his Lyf before alleadged, wherein
 “ also his father called John is sayd to be *progenitorum*
 “ *libertate dotatus*: and he himself by Ranulph Monke
 “ of Chestre, being noted to be *libertinus, vel a patre li-*
 “ *bertino natus*: I was moved to thinke, as I told them,
 “ that those Armes came not to him by descent. And
 “ agayne,

when he began to rise in the world) I imagine was intended by him to intimate something of this kind: **Manners maketh Man**: the true meaning of which, as he designed it, I presume to be, tho' it has commonly been understood otherwise, That a man's real worth is to be estimated, not from the outward and accidental advantages of birth, rank, and fortune, but from the endowments of his mind, and his moral qualifications. In this sense it bears a proper relation to his arms, and contains a just apology for those ensigns of his newly acquired dignity. Conscious to himself that his claim to honour is unexceptionable, as founded upon truth and reason, he in

“ agayne, behouldinge the Armes sometye with one
 “ and then after with two cheverons, *quæ quidem signa*
 “ *per Carpentarios & domorum factores olim portabantur,*
 “ as Nicholas Upton wryteth, and comparing them
 “ to the quality of the berar, who is sayd to have had
 “ his chiefe preferment for his skill in Architecture,
 “ *Erat enim regi Edwardo III. in principio a fabricis eo*
 “ *quod erat ingeniosus & architectura delectatus,* as Dr.
 “ Caius maketh mention in his bookes *de antiquitate*
 “ *Cantabrigiensis Academiæ*: I was also induced to thinke
 “ *per conjecturam Heraldicam,* that the Bishop himself
 “ was the first berar of them.” Report of Robert
 Glover, Somerset Herald, to Lord Treasurer Burghley,
 concerning the dispute between Sir Richard Fiennes and
 Humphrey Wickham, Esq; dated March 1572. MS. Ant.
 Wood. N^o XXVIII. in Museo Ashmoleano Oxon.

a man-

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a manner makes his appeal to the world; alledging, that neither high birth, to which he makes no pretensions, nor high station, upon which he does not value himself, but

“Virtue alone is true Nobility.”

It seems to be agreed on all hands, that his ⁶ parents were in such narrow circumstances, that they could not afford to give their son a liberal education. However, this deficiency was supplied by some generous patron, who maintained him at school at ⁷ Winchester, where he was instructed in Grammatical learning. Here he gave early proofs of his ⁸ piety and his diligence. It has always been supposed, rather from a common tradition, than from any authentic account that I can meet with, that Wykeham's first and great Benefactor was Nicholas Uvedale Lord of the Manor of Wykeham, and Governor of Winchester Castle, an officer of great note in those days. After he had gone through

⁶ Tractat. in Vet. Reg. Coll. Wint. Brev. Chron. Chaundeler ibid.

⁷ MS. Coll. Wint.

⁸ Ibid. & Tractat. in Vet. Reg. Coll. Wint.

his

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his school education, he was taken into his patron's family, and became his Secretary. That he was Secretary to the Constable of Winchester Castle, is all that we find mentioned in the most ancient⁹ writers. He is said to have been afterwards recommended by Uvedale to Edyngdon¹ Bishop of Winchester, and by both to have been made known to King Edward the Third.

The later Writers of Wykeham's life have generally mentioned his removing from Winchester to Oxford to prosecute his studies, and that he continued there almost six years. They seem to have no sufficient authority for what they say. The Writers nearest his time make no mention of his being at Oxford at all, or rather suppose the contrary. I must

⁹ Tractat. in Vet. Reg. Coll. Wint. Brev. Chron. Chaundeler.

¹ Edyngdon Bishop of Winchester constitutes William de Wykeham his Attorney, to take possession of certain lands, &c. December 10. 26 Ed. 3. [1352.] And Henry Sturmy of Elveham constitutes him likewise his Attorney, to deliver seisin of certain lands, &c. to Bp. Edyngdon, October 12th the same year. Lib. H. Coll. Wint. fol. 252, & 249. Which makes it probable, that he was in Edyngdon's service, as is commonly said.

here

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here give the Reader what Chaundeler says to this purpose in his own words: " Illum
 " Speculativa (Sapientia) minime forsan
 " occupavit: perhibetur enim nec Artium,
 " nec Theologiæ, sed nec utrorumque Ju-
 " rium scholas exercuisse:—quomodo potuit
 " ab inopi & pauperrima ductus paren-
 " tela sine exhibitione scholas aut literarum
 " exercitasse studium?—de Practica vero,
 " —vir summe sapiens." Which I think
 it as much as to say in express terms, that
 he never studied in any University. Chaun-
 deler, who within about fifty years after
 the death of Wykeham, was Warden of
 New College, and Chancellor of the Uni-
 versity of Oxford, might at that time have
 easily known, whether he had ever studied
 there or not, by consulting the Univer-
 sity Registers. Besides, it does not ap-
 pear, that he ever had any Academical De-
 gree, nor is there the least tradition of his
 having belonged to any particular Society
 there.

The above passage of Chaundeler gives
 us the real character of Wykeham with
 respect to his Learning; and lays open to
 us the true and only foundation of that
 Tradition, which has been delivered down
 from

from early times, and has received many additional circumstances from the invention of later writers; that Wykeham was an Illiterate Person. One that after having been chiefly employed for several years in secular affairs, and without having ever gone through the usual course of Academical Learning, should become a Clergyman, however furnished with most parts of truly useful knowledge, yet such as the schools were then entirely unacquainted with, would of course be looked upon as deficient in a principal part of a Clerical, that is, according to the opinion of those times, of a Learned Education. But whoever considers the miserable state of learning in general, and in particular in the University of Oxford, in that age, will not think it any disadvantage to him to have been led into a different course of studies.

'Twas just at the time * when Wykeham must have been at the University of Oxford, if he had ever been there at all, that certain logical contentions, turning merely upon words, so far prevailed, as to divide the scholars into perpetual factions,

* See Ant. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. ad an. 1343.

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and to become almost the only object of their studies and attention. The Nominals lifted themselves under the standard of Occham the invincible Doctor, in opposition to the Reals, the followers of Duns Scotus, entitled the Subtile Doctor. This occasioned the revival of the old quarrels, between the Northern and Southern men: the former, for want of a better reason as it seems, joining themselves to the party of their Countryman Scotus; and consequently the latter, out of mere spirit of opposition, siding with Occham. The consequence of these disputes was not only the establishing in the schools an unintelligible jargon, (the thing that was chiefly meant in these times when they talked of knowledge and learning) but the introducing a scandalous barbarity and brutality of manners into the place appropriated to the studies of humanity and politeness. The parties in their madness soon transgressed the bounds of Academical disputation, and came to blows: they had frequent battles, which generally ended in bloodshed. Six years spent at the University just at this time, and in that part of life in which prejudices of all kinds take the fastest hold

C

and

and make the most lasting impression, might have unhappily given a wrong turn to a person of as great genius, as extensive knowledge, and as sound judgement, as any which that age produced. As he had a capacity, that would probably have carried him to the top of any profession, into which he might have chanced to have been thrown, he might indeed have become an eminent Schoolman, an Irrefragable, perhaps, or even a Seraphic Doctor: but we should have absolutely lost the great Statesman, and the generous patron and promoter of true learning.

'Twas certainly for abilities very different from what were commonly attained at that time in the University, that Wykeham was recommended to Edward the Third. He is said³ to have been brought to Court, and

³ " Biennio vel triennio elapso, post annum s.[cilicet] ætatis suæ vicesimum, translatus est in curiam domini regis Edwardi III." Tractat. in Vet. Reg. Coll. Wint.

The following passage likewise speaks of his having been engaged in the King's service very early in his life, and contains an ample testimony of his merits.

" Attendentes præterea ejusdem Epif. probitatis præclara merita ac obsequia fructuosa, quæ ipse a juvenili ætate tam Avo & Patri nostris prædictis, dum vixerant, quam etiam Nobis, postquam ad regale fastigium

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and placed there in the King's service, when he was about two or three and twenty years of age. What employment he had there at this time, (if he was really employed by the King so soon) I cannot say : for the first office, which he appears upon record to have borne, was that of Clerk of all the King's works, in his manors of Henle and Yeshampsted. The ⁺ Patent conferring this office upon him is dated the 10th of May 1356. The ¹ 30th of October following he was made Surveyor of the King's works at the Castle and in the Park of Windsor. By this Patent he had powers given him to press all sorts of artificers, and to provide stone, timber, and all other materials, and carriages. He had one shilling a day while he staid at Windsor, two shillings when he went elsewhere on his employment, and three shillings a

*“ gium ascendimus, multipliciter impendebat, ipsis ac
 “ nobis in dicti regni & negotiorum ejusdem operoso
 “ regimine consiliis & auxiliis opportunis continue ac
 “ fideliter assistendo, maximos utrobique sustinendo la-
 “ bores pariter & expensas,”—Preamble to a Licence
 of Mortmain granted to his Colleges. Dat. June 16.
 13. R. 2. Rot. Pat. MS. Rymer. R. 2. Vol. III. p. 208.
 Item. Lib. H. Coll. Wint. fol. 122.*

⁺ Rot. Pat. 30. Ed. 3. Tanner.

¹ Ibid. and Ashmole, Instit. Ord. Garter, p. 128.

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week for his Clerk. On ⁶ the 14th of November, 1357, he received a grant from the King of one shilling a day, payable at the exchequer, over and above his former wages and salary. 'Twas ⁷ by the advice and persuation of Wykeham that the King

⁶ Rot. Pat. 31. Ed. 3. Tanner.

⁷ " Circa annum Domini 1359, Dominus Rex ad instigationem Wilhelmi Wykeham Clerici in castro de Wyndeshore multa bona ædificia fecit prosterni, & alia plura pulchra & sumptuosa ædificari; omnes fere lathonii & carpentarii per totam Angliam ad illam ædificationem fuerunt adducti, ita quod vix aliquis potuit habere aliquem bonum lathonium vel carpentarium nisi in abscondito propter regis prohibitionem. Fuerat autem dictus Wilhelmus Wykeham de infimo genere, ut puta, ut dicebatur, servilis conditionis; tamen fuit multum astutus, & vir magnæ industriæ. Videns qualiter posset regi placere & illius benevolentiam adipisci, consuluit regi dictum castrum de Wyndeshore taliter sicut hodie patet intuenti ædificare; & infra modicum tempus postea unum novum castrum in insula de Shepeye juxta mare & mercatum ibi constituere; licet locus ille ad hoc fuerat male dispositus. Propter quod Dominus Rex multis bonis & pinguibus beneficiis ipsum Wilhelmum dedit, & infra breve tempus post suum secretum Sigillum fecit portare, & succedente tempore ut esset Wynton. Epif. procuravit; & tandem ad sui honoris cumulum Cancellarium Angliæ ipsum constituit; ut verificaretur illud, Sic honorabitur quem Rex vult honorare." Continuatio Chronici Ranulphi per Johannem Malverne ab an. Dom. 1326, ad an. 1394. MS. in Biblioth. Coll. Corp. Christ. Cantab. I give the whole that this author has relating to William of Wykeham, as it has not before been published.

was

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was induced to pull down great part of the Castle of Windsor, and to rebuild it in the magnificent manner in which, upon the whole, it now appears; and the execution of this great work he committed entirely to him. Wykeham had likewise the sole direction of the building⁸ of Queenborough Castle; the difficulties arising from the nature of the ground, and the lowness of the situation, did not discourage him from advising and undertaking this work; and in the event they only served to display more evidently the skill and abilities of the Architect.

Wykeham acquitted himself so much to the King's satisfaction in the execution of these employments, that he gained a considerable place in his master's favour, and grew daily in his affections: ⁹ for from

C 3

hence-

⁸ Item MS. Coll. Wint.

⁹ There is a story commonly told upon this occasion, which I think deserves but little regard, as it seems to stand upon no other foundation than some popular tradition. I shall give it here in the words of Arch-bishop Parker, who, as far as I can find, is the first that relates it. "*Quidam narrant Wickamum, extructa arce Windsorina, in interiori quodam pariete hæc verba, quæ latine tam apposite & facete exprimi nequeunt, insculpsisse: This made Wickam. Hoc fecit Wickam. Quæ*"
" locutio

henceforth we find the King continually heaping upon him preferments both civil and ecclesiastical. It seems to have been all along his design to take upon him Holy Orders: he is styled Clericus in all the above-mentioned Patents, I find ¹ him called so as early as the year 1352. He had as yet only the Clerical Tonsure, or some of the lower Orders. The first Ecclesiastical Preferment which was conferred upon him, was the Rectory of Pulham in Norfolk by the King's presentation: ² it is dated the 30th of November, 1357. He met with some difficulties with regard to this preferment, from the court of Rome; where-

“ locutio in Anglicana lingua, quæ casibus raro discrimi-
 “ minatur, tam ambigua est, ut incertum sit, utrum is
 “ arcem, an arx eum effecisset. Hoc regi a calumniato-
 “ ribus quibusdam in ejus invidiam ita delatum est, ut
 “ quasi Wickamus omnem extructi ædificii laudem sibi
 “ arroganter vindicavit. Quod cum rex iniquo animo
 “ tulisset, eique probrose objecisset: non sibi tam mag-
 “ nificæ regisquæ structuræ laudes, sed structuræ suas
 “ dignitates commoditatesque, adscripsisse dixit. Nec
 “ ego, inquit, hanc arcem, sed hæc arx me effecit,
 “ & ab ima conditione ad regis gratiam, opes, atque
 “ dignitates evexit. Cum hoc responso adversariorum
 “ calumniam vitasset, opibus & potentia crevit indies.”
 Antiq. Brit. Eccles.

¹ Lib. H. Coll. Wint. fol. 252.

² Rot. Pat. 31. Ed. 3. Tanner.

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. 23

fore he¹ received from the King on the 16th of April, 1359, a grant of two hundred pounds a year, over and above his former appointments, until he should get quiet possession of the Church of Pulham, or some other benefice to the value of one hundred marks. This dispute, whatever it was, was not settled till two years afterward; when⁴ on the 10th of July, 1361, he had from the King a new presentation to Pulham. On⁵ the 1st of March, 1358-9, he was presented by the King to the Prebend of Flixton in the Church of Lichfield: this⁶ he exchanged for some other benefice with John de Waltham, in November, 1361. On⁷ the 10th of July, 1359, he was constituted chief Warden and Surveyor of the King's Castles of Windsor, Ledes, Dover, and Hadlam; and of the Manors of Old and New Windsor, Wichemer, and several other Castles, Manors, and Houses, and of the Parks belonging to them: with power to appoint all workmen, to provide materials, and to order

³ Rot. Pat. 33. Ed. 3. Tanner.

⁴ Rot. Pat. 35. Ed. 3. Tanner.

⁵ Rot. Pat. 33. Ed. 3. Tanner.

⁶ Willis, Survey of Cathedrals.

⁷ Rot. Pat. 33. Ed. 3. Tanner. and Ashmole, *ibid*.

every thing with regard to building and repairs; and in those Manors to hold leets, and other courts, pleas of trespass, and misdemeanors, and to enquire of the King's liberties and rights. The King seems at this time to have been very intent upon carrying on his buildings at Windsor; for we find that ⁸ next year workmen were im-
preſt in London, and out of ſeveral Counties, by writs directed to the Sheriffs, who were to take ſecurity of them, that they ſhould not leave Windsor without licence from Wykeham.

On ⁹ the 5th of May, 1360, he had the King's grant of the Deanry of the Royal Free Chapel, or Collegiate Church, of St. Martin Le Grand, London. He exchanged this Deanry for the Prebend of Iwerne-minſtre in the Dioceſe of Sarum on the 3d of October, 1361. Yet as he is ſtyled ¹ the year after Dean of St. Martin's, we muſt conclude, that he was preſented to it again the ſecond time: and as he was ² admitted again to the prebend of Iwerne

⁸ Aſhmole, *ibid*.

⁹ Rot. Pat. 34. Ed. 3. Tanner.

¹ Regiſt. Edyngdon. part 1ſt. fol. 106.

² Regiſt. Edyngdon. part 2d. in Ordinationibus.

³ Regiſt. Metford. fol. 297.

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in the monastery of Shaftsbury, (the same I suppose with the former) by presentation from the King in the vacancy of the Ab-bacy, (July 2d, 1362) he probably had exchanged it before for some other benefice. He held the Deanry of St. Martin's about three years: * during which time he generously rebuilt, † in a very handsome manner, and at a very great expence, the ‡ cloister of the Chapter-house, and the body of the Church.

Wykeham † attended upon the King in the month of October, 1360, at Calais, when the Treaty of Bretigny was solemnly ratified, and confirmed by the reciprocal oaths of the Kings of England and France in person. In what character or office he waited on the King there, I cannot say: but he assisted at this ceremony as a witness, and, as it seems, in quality of Public Notary.

To proceed with the list of his Ecclesiastical Preferments: he received from the

⁴ Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. i. p. 424, & 427.

⁵ Newcourt, *ibid.* & Rot. Pat. pro reedificatione capellæ, &c. per Willielmum Wykeham, tunc decanum, &c. quoted by Bp. Tanner, *Notit. Monast.* p. 297.

⁶ "Claustum domus capituli, & corpus ecclesiæ." MS. Coll. Wint.

⁷ Rymer *Fœdera*, Vol. 6. p. 234.

King

King grants of the following Dignities; which I set down in the order of time, with the date of each presentation. A⁸ Prebend in the Church of Hereford, July 12th, 1361. A⁹ Prebend in the Collegiate Church of Abergwilly, July 16th; and the same day, a¹ Prebend in the Collegiate Church of Llandewy Breys, both in St. David's Diocese. A² Prebend in the Collegiate Church of Bromyard, Hereford Diocese, July 24th: this³ he quitted in October following. The⁴ Prebend of Oxgate in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul London, October 1st. A⁵ Prebend in the Monastery of Wherwell Winton Diocese, December 20. All these in the same year: in which likewise by presentation from other hands he was admitted to the following Dignities. The⁶ Prebend of Yatmenster Overbury in the Church of Salisbury, August 16th: The⁷ Prebend of

⁸ Rot. Pat. 35. Ed. 3. Tanner.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. 2. p. 67.

⁴ Rot. Pat. 35. Ed. 3. Tanner.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Regist. Metford. fol. 277.

⁷ Ibid. fol. 283.

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Fordington and Wriglington in the same, by exchange of the former, October 9th: the ⁸ Prebend of Bedminster and Ratcliff in the same, October 15th: the ⁹ Prebend of Totenhall in the Church of St. Paul London, December 10th; which he resigned a few days after, and was again presented to it by the King in April following. He ¹ was Canon of Lincoln in June, 1362: it ² was the Prebend of Sutton which he held in that Church. He ³ had the Rectories of Aswardby, Wodeland, and Gosberkirk, Lincoln Diocese: the later of which he ⁴ exchanged for the Prebend of Langtoft in the Cathedral Church of York, this same year: which he also quitted the next year for the Prebend of Laghton in the same Church. The ⁵ King gave him moreover, a Prebend in the Collegiate Church of Hastings, Chichester Diocese, February 17th, 1362-3; a Prebend in St. Stephen's Chapel Westminster, April 21st, 1363; the

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. i. p. 214.

¹ Rymer Fœdera, Vol. 6. p. 372.

² Regist. Langham, fol. 12.

³ Dr. Richardson on Godwin, from Regist. Ginwell.

⁴ Bp. Tanner ex Regist. Ecclesiæ Ebor.

⁵ Rot. Pat. 37. Ed. 3. Tanner.

Arch-

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Arch-Deaconry of Northampton, April 26th; the Arch-Deaconry of Lincoln, May 23d; on ⁶ accepting which he resigned the former; and the Prepositure of Wells with the Prebend annexed, December 15th, the same year.

Some of the foregoing Dignities he was possessed of before he was in Holy Orders. He ⁷ was admitted to the inferior Order of Accolite on the 5th of December, 1361; to the Order of Subdeacon, a superior and Holy Order in the Church of Rome's account, on the 12th of March following; both by Edyngdon Bishop of Winchester in his Chapel at Southwark: and was there likewise ordained Priest by the same, June the 12th, 1362. It does not appear when or by whom he was ordained Deacon.

His advancement in the State still kept pace with his preferment in the Church. In ⁸ June, 1363, he was Warden and Justiciary of the King's Forests on this side

⁶ Le Neve's Fasti. ex Regist. Bokyngham.

⁷ Regist. Edyngdon, part 2d. in Ordinationibus.

⁸ Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, pag. 497. He is call'd *late* Warden, &c. in Rot. Pat. 42. Ed. 3. Tanner. Which Patent contains a Release and acquittance from the King of all debts and demands on account of that office. Index Rot. Pat. Biblioth. Cotton. Titus c. 2.

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. 29

Trent. On ⁹ the 14th of March following, the King granted him an assignment of twenty shillings a day out of the Exchequer. He ¹ was made Keeper of the Privy Seal on the 11th of May, 1364. And ² within two years after he was made Secretary to the King. In May, ³ 1365, he was commissioned by the King to treat of the ransom of the King of Scotland, and the prolonging of the truce with the Scots, together with the Chancellor, Treasurer, and the Earl of Arundel. Not long after this, he is called ⁴ Chief of the Privy Council, and Governor of the Great Council; which terms however, I suppose, are not titles of office, but express the great influence and authority which he had in those assemblies.

There are several other preferments both Ecclesiastical and Civil, which he is said

⁹ Rot. Pat. 38. Ed. 3. Tanner.

¹ Ibid.

² Rot. Pat. 40. Ed. 3. Tanner. The Pope directs to him by the title of Secretary to the King of England as early as June 1364. Rymer. Fœdera, Vol. 6. pag. 443.

³ Rymer Fœdera, Vol. 6. pag. 464.

⁴ "Capitalis secreti Concilii, at Gubernator Magni Concilii." Rymer Fœdera, Vol. 7. p. 164.

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to have held ; but I do not mention them, because the authorities produced for them are such, as I cannot intirely depend upon. And as to his Ecclesiastical Benefices already mentioned, the practice of exchanging them was then so common, that 'tis hard to determine precisely, which of them he held all together, at any one time. However, we have a very exact account of this matter as it stood in the year 1366, when the sum of his Church preferments was at the highest, given by Wykeham himself on occasion of Urban the Fifth's⁵ Bulle against Pluralities: the⁶ practice of which prevailed greatly in the Church at this time ; so that there were some in England, who, by the Pope's authority, possessed at once twenty Ecclesiastical Benefices and Dignities, with dispensation moreover for holding as many more as they could lawfully procure, without limitation of number. This Bulle was published in May, 1365 ; and orders all ecclesiastical persons whatsoever possessed of more benefices than one, either with or without cure, to de-

⁵ See the Bulle itself in Wilkins. Concil. Mag. Brit. Vol. 3. pag. 62.

⁶ Parker. Antiq. Britan. Eccl. ad an. 1367.

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liver to the Ordinary of the place where they commonly reside, a distinct and particular account of such their benefices, with the sum which each is taxed at in the King's books, to be transmitted to the Metropolitan, and by him to the Pope. The Certificate of the Bishop of London, made to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, of the account exhibited to him by William of Wykeham of his benefices, is as follows.

7 " In the same year and month [October, 1366.] Sir William of Wykeham
 " Clerk, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and
 " *Secretary* of our Lord the Illustrious
 " King of England, and Keeper of his
 " Privy Seal, by reason of his said office
 " residing and commonly dwelling in the
 " City and Diocese of London, intimated
 " and in writing exhibited to Us Simon
 " Bishop of London, clearly, particularly,
 " and distinctly, as he affirmed, that he
 " holdeth the Archdeaconry of Lincoln,
 " having no ecclesiastical benefice nor manse
 " annexed unto the same, which is reput-
 " ed to be a dignity in the Church of Lin-

7 Ex Registro Langham. fol. 12.

* A word is here omitted in the original: 'tis supplied by conjecture.

"coln,

"coln, and is a benefice with cure, and
 "incompatible with another cure; not
 "taxed; the true and common annual va-
 "lue of the same, if the Archdeacon visi-
 "teth all the churches of his Archdea-
 "conry, and receiveth the whole procu-
 "rations every where in ready money, ex-
 "tendeth to three hundred and fifty pounds
 "sterling. Item, the Canonry and Pre-
 "bend of Sutton in the said Church of
 "Lincoln; it is a Benefice without cure,
 "and compatible with a benefice with cure:
 "the tax of the same is two hundred and
 "sixty marks sterling. Item, the Canonry
 "and Prebend of Laghton in the Church
 "of York; it is a benefice without cure,
 "and compatible with a cure, and is so
 "held and reputed: the tax of the same
 "is one hundred and ten marks sterling.
 "Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Bon-
 "ham in the Collegiate Church of Suth-
 "well, York Diocese; it is a benefice with-
 "out cure, and compatible with a cure:
 "the tax of the same fifty five marks ster-
 "ling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend
 "of the Altar of St. Mary in the Colle-
 "giate Church of Beverly, York Diocese;
 "it is a benefice without cure, and com-
 "patible

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“ patible with a cure: the tax of the same
“ sixteen pounds sterling. Item, the Ca-
“ nonry and Prebend of Totenhale in the
“ Church of London; a benefice likewise
“ without cure, and compatible with a cure:
“ the tax of the same sixteen marks ster-
“ ling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend
“ of Fordyngton in the Church of Sarum;
“ a benefice also without cure, and com-
“ patible with a cure: the tax of the same
“ twenty five marks sterling. Item, the
“ Canonry and Prebend of Werwell in
“ the Monastery of the nuns of Werwell,
“ Wynton Diocese; it is a benefice with-
“ out cure, and compatible with a cure:
“ the tax of the same sixty marks. Item,
“ the Canonry and Prebend of Iwerne in
“ the Monastery of the nuns of Shafton,
“ Sarum Diocese; a benefice likewise with-
“ out cure, and compatible with a cure,
“ and so held and reputed: the tax of the
“ same thirty marks sterling. Item, the
“ Canonry and Prebend of Swerdes in
“ the Church of Dublin in Ireland; it is
“ a benefice without cure, and compati-
“ ble with a cure: the tax of the same
“ ninety marks sterling. Item, the Pre-
“ positure of Wells with a Prebend in the

D

“ Church

“ Church of Wells annexed to the same :
“ the aforesaid Prepositure is a simple of-
“ fice, and without cure, and compatible
“ with another benefice with cure, and so
“ it is held and reputed : the tax of the
“ Prepositure with the Prebend annexed to
“ it sixty eight marks sterling ; and out of
“ the fruits and produce of the said Pre-
“ positure are paid to fourteen Canons for
“ their Prebends, and to the Vicars and
“ other ministers of that Church, yearly
“ one hundred and seventy five marks ster-
“ ling. Item, the aforesaid Sir William
“ of Wykeham did hold at the time of the
“ date of the aforesaid monition, by col-
“ lation of our Lord the illustrious King
“ of England, the canonry and Prebend
“ of Alnethle in the aforesaid our Lord
“ the King’s free Chapel of Bruggenorth,
“ Coventry and Litchfield Diocese ; it is a
“ benefice without cure, and compatible
“ with a cure ; and the same, being of the
“ King’s patronage, he hath wholly resign-
“ ed and simply quitted in form of law, as
“ well really as verbally : and that the tax
“ of the same, the Episcopal registers, as
“ well as those of our Lord the King and
“ those of our Lord the Pope’s Nuncio in
“ England,

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“ England, having been searched, and all
“ requisite diligence by him used in the
“ same, could not be made appear, nor
“ doth appear; wherefore the true and com-
“ mon value of the said Prebend he hath
“ exhibited unto Us Simon Bishop of Lon-
“ don aforesaid, that it extendeth annual-
“ ly to twenty three pounds six shillings
“ and eight pence sterling. Item, the said
“ Sir William did hold, by virtue of Aposto-
“ lical Dispensation unto him in this be-
“ half sufficiently made and granted, at
“ the time of the date of the monition a-
“ fforesaid and since, the Parish Church of
“ Manyhynet, Exon Diocese, at that time
“ of Lay patronage: it is a benefice with
“ cure, not compatible with another cure;
“ but the same Church he hath wholly
“ resigned and simply quitted in form of
“ law, as well really as verbally: the
“ tax of the same eight pounds sterling.
“ Item, he did obtain a Rescript or Bulle
“ Apostolical in the time of our Lord Pope
“ Innocent the sixth¹ of happy memory,
“ directed to the Bishop Elect of St.
“ David's, to examine the said William

¹ In the Original, Innocent the *Fifth*, by mistake.

“ personally, and if he should be found
 “ duly qualified, to grant unto him by
 “ provision the Canonry and Prebend of
 “ the Church of St. Andrew of Aukelond,
 “ Durham Diocese, which formerly Thomas
 “ de Brydekylt, alias de Karlelis, held in
 “ the said Church during his life: but by
 “ virtue of the same he neither hath since
 “ had collation, nor the said Canonry and
 “ Prebend hath he possession of, nor hath
 “ in any wise had, nor intendeth to have
 “ for the future, nor in any manner to make
 “ use of the said Rescript or Bulle Apof-
 “ tolical: the tax or value is not known.”

By this instrument it appears, that the
 yearly value, partly taxed and party real,
 of the benefices which Wykeham had for
 some few years held all together, was
 873l. 6s. 8d. and of those which he still re-
 mained in possession of, and continued to
 hold till he became Bishop of Winchester,
 was 842l.

It is needless to observe, in what a high
 degree of favour Wykeham stood with the
 King, after having given so many substantial
 proofs of it. But the testimony of Froissart,
 a contemporary historian, personally ac-
 quainted with the affairs of the English
 Court,

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Court, and at ⁹ this very time residing there, and employed in the service of both the King and Queen, is too remarkable to be omitted. "At ¹ this time, says he, reigned "a Priest called William of Wykeham. "This William of Wykeham was so much "in favour with the King of England, "that every thing was done by him, and "nothing was done without him." The King had raised him to some of the highest offices in the State, and intended to carry him still higher: it was in a manner necessary that his station in the Church should be proportionable. The King might easily have procured him a Bishoprick before this time: but as Bishopricks were not absolutely in his disposal, nor translations from one Bishoprick to another become the common steps of advancement in the Church, he seems to have reserved Wykeham for the Bishoprick of Winchester, which in point of honour and revenue would be a proper station for his favourite minister, and which in the course of nature must shortly become vacant.

⁹ See Froissart, Vol. 4. Chap. 61. & 119.

¹ Froissart, Vol. 1. Chap. 249. Edit. Paris, 1574. He calls him W. de Wican.

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He probably had it in his power to place him in the See of Canterbury, which became vacant about half a year before that of Winchester: but ¹ Edyngdon was now declining apace, and Wykeham perhaps was desirous of being settled in his native country; that this, rather than any other, might be the nearest and most immediate object of his care and beneficence. In the mean time the King conferred upon him as many Ecclesiastical preferments, of a lower degree, as he could legally be possessed of, as marks of royal favour, and supports of his state and dignity, while this great expectative was depending.

² See Wharton, Ang. Sacr. Vol. i. pag. 317.

THE
L I F E
O F
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

S E C T I O N II.

From the time of his being made Bishop of Winchester to the last year of Edward the Third.

WILLIAM de Edyngdon Bishop of Winchester died ¹ on the eighth of October, 1366. Upon the King's ² earnest recommendation, Wykeham was immediately and unanimously elected by the Prior and Convent to succeed him. The ³

¹ Wharton, Ang. Sacr. Vol. I. pag. 317.

² Ibid. & pag. 47. & Godwin.

³ Dr. Richardson's Note on Godwin, from Rot. Pat.

41. (it ought to be 40.) Ed. 3.

congè d'elire is dated October the 13th. The King approved the election on the 24th of the same month. The Pope ⁴ constitutes him Administrator of the Spiritualties and Temporalties of the vacant See, by his Bulle dated December the 11th of the same year: and he was ⁵ admitted to the Administration of the Spiritualties by the Archbishop of Canterbury, February the 22d following. By his ⁶ Bulle of July the 14th, 1367, the Pope gives him leave to be consecrated, referring in it to the Bulle of Provision of the same date, by which he confers on him the Bishoprick. He was ⁷ consecrated in St. Paul's London, on the 10th of October, 1367, by the Archbishop

⁴ See Appendix, N^o V.

⁵ Wharton, Ang. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 317.

⁶ Regist. Wykeham, Part I. fol. 4. "Cum nos pridem Wynton. Ecclesiæ—auctoritate Apostolica duxerimus providendum præficiendo te illi in Episcopum, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur.—The word *pridem* relates only to the Pope's Provisional Intention: for it appears from the general Title of Wykeham's Register, that the Bulle of Provision was dated the same day, July 14th, 1367. "Registrum Wilhelmi de Wykeham cui de Episcopatu Wynt. per felicitis recordationis Urbanum div. pro. Papam Vtū per viam reservationis fuit provisum sub data Viterbii secundo Idus Julij Pont. sui anno Vto."

⁷ Regist. Wykeham. General Title, and Beginning.
of

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of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London and Salisbury. The same day⁸ the Archbishop celebrated the Feast of Consecration with great magnificence at his palace of Lambeth. Two days⁹ after Wykeham received from the King the grant of the Temporalities of the Bishoprick. Thus was it a whole year from the time of the vacancy, and even from the time of his election, before he could get into full possession of his new dignity.

The delay, which this affair met with, has been taken notice of by many¹ authors; some of whom have assigned no reason for it; others, chiefly the later writers, have given a false one. Some say, that the King was very unwilling to promote, to so high a station in the Church, a person who was so very deficient in point of Learning; this is not at all probable; Wykeham was recommended by the King, the election was made, and was approved

⁸ Steph. Birchington apud Wharton Ang. Sacr. Vol. I. pag. 47.

⁹ Rymer. Fœd. Vol. VI. pag. 574.

¹ See Wharton Ang. Sacr. Vol. I. pag. 47, & 317. Anonym. published by Hearn in Vol. II. of Walt. Hemmingford. Ant. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. Part II. pag. 127. Parker, Trussell, &c.

by

by him, all within sixteen days after the vacancy happened; with as much dispatch, as was possible in an affair of this nature. Others pretend, that the Pope made the same objection: the contrary to this appears from the words of the Bulle above-mentioned, dated December the 11th, 1366, in which the Pope speaks of Wykeham, as^a “ recommended to him, by the testimony “ of many persons worthy of credit, for “ his knowledge of Letters, his probity of “ life and manners, and his prudence and “ circumspection in affairs both spiritual “ and temporal.” Which testimony of his Learning is the more to be insisted upon, as it appears, on examining all the Bulles of this kind that occur in Rymer’s Collection of public Records through this Century, that this part of the Bulle, in which the character of the person preferred is given, for the most part runs in more general terms, and has more frequently than otherwise no mention of Learning at all. The Pope was so far from making the objection, that he seems fully persuaded, that there was really no room for it: for, we

^a See Appendix, N° V.

may be sure, the Court of Rome had more address, than to go out of its way, and depart from a common form, to compliment a person for the very quality, in which he was notoriously deficient.

But the true state of the case, and the reason of this delay on the side of the Pope, seems to be this. Since the time of Henry the third, the Kings and Parliaments of England had resolutely opposed the usurpations of the See of Rome, one considerable article of which among many was the Pope's assuming to himself the disposal of all Church Preferments by way of Provision and Reservation. The pretence was, that the Holy Father, out of his great care for the welfare of the Church in general, and that of such a Diocese suppose in particular, had *provided* for it beforehand a proper and useful person to preside over it, lest in case of a vacancy it might suffer detriment, by being long destitute of a Pastor ; for which reason, out of the plenitude of his authority, he *reserved* to himself for this turn the disposal of the said Bishoprick, decreeing from that time forward all interposition, or attempts to the contrary, of all persons whatsoever, null and

and void. The most effectual method of putting an end to these encroachments on the rights of the King, Chapters, and Patrons, seemed to have been taken under Edward the third, by the Statutes³ of Provisors and Premunire: yet the Pope still continued his pretensions, and his Provisions in reality took place; only the person so preferred, was obliged to⁴ renounce in form all manner of right to the Temporalities, which might be derived to him from the Bulle of Provision, and all words contained in it prejudicial to the rights of the Crown. This was the occasion of perpetual disputes between the King and the Pope, and of the delay in the present case. Wykeham was probably a person very agreeable to the Pope, who had several⁵ times made use of his interest with the King: and we see, that at this very time he made no difficulty of granting to him,

³ Stat. of the 25th, 27th, and 38th years of Ed. 3.

⁴ See Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. VI. pag. 597. Wilkins. *Concil. Mag. Brit.* Vol. II. pag. 266. This is the reason why the Bulle of Provision is not entered in Wykeham's Register.

⁵ There are three Recommendatory Letters of Urban the V. to Wykeham in Rymer's *Fœdera*: one in July, 1363, another in June, 1364, the third in Jan. 1366-7, while this affair was depending.

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as to the presumptive Successor, the Administration of the vacant See. The point in question was not, whether Wykeham should have the Bishoprick of Winchester or not; but by what title, and by whom it should be conferred on him. The Pope's right of Provision was not to be dropt in the disposal of so great a preferment, and when he had an opportunity by it of making a merit with the first Minister of the greatest Prince in Europe. The King defended the right of Election: the Pope pretended, that Election in this case gave no right to the Bishoprick, and would have it acknowledged as a favour from himself. The King had so great a regard for Wykeham, that he condescended at last to form an interest with the Pope, to induce him to recede a little from his pretensions. He⁶ wrote to the Duke of Bourbon, one of his hostages for the King of France, to whom he had granted leave of absence⁷ about a year before, and had lately prolonged it at the Pope's request, desiring him to prevail with the Pope to confirm Wykeham's Election. The Duke went to Avig-

⁶ Froissart, Vol. I. Chap. 249.

⁷ Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. VI. pag. 488, and 510.

non,

non, where the Pope then resided, and solicited the affair in person. He was glad of this opportunity of laying the King and his Minister under an obligation to him. And 'tis probable, that in consideration of this service the King the more readily granted him his liberty the year following, on his paying ^s 40000 Crowns for his ransom. The Pope was as well pleased to receive a petition from the King of England; 'twas the very thing he proposed to himself by all this delay. He so far complied with it, as to end the dispute without determining the merits of the cause: according to the general maxim of the Court of Rome, never to give up its pretensions in any case whatsoever; but rather to yield to the desire of an opponent too powerful to be resisted, as out of mere grace and favour, without admitting his claim. However, in the present case it seems to have been agreed, that each party should in some measure allow the pretensions of the other. Accordingly, the Pope's Bulle of July the

^s Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. VI. pag. 585. Not 12000, as Rapin says; nor 20000 Francs, as Froissart. He paid 10000 Crowns. Jan. 28th, 1367-8, and engaged to pay 30000 more at three equal payments within the year.

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14th, 1367, before mentioned, in which he refers to the Bulle of Provision, is nevertheless directed to William Bishop Elect of Winchester; and on the other hand, the King in his Letters Patent of the 12th of October, 1367, by which he grants him the Temporalties of the Bishoprick, acknowledges him Bishop of Winchester by the Pope's Provision, without mentioning his Election. ° He was Inthroned in the Ca-

° Registr. Wykeham, pt. 3d. a. fol. 1.

The right of Inthroning all the Suffragan Bishops of the Province is by ancient custom the peculiar privilege of the Archdeacon of Canterbury. It may not perhaps be displeasing to the reader to be informed of some parts of the Ceremony formerly used, with the particulars of the Archdeacon's Fees, upon this occasion. * The Bishop was received by the Archdeacon at his Entrance into the City, where he alighted from his Palfrey; and the Archdeacon immediately had the Palfrey, with the Saddle and all the Furniture; and farther, if the Bishop's Groom would deliver to him the cover of the saddle, the girt, and headstall, the Archdeacon was to reward him with the gift of two shillings, or more, as in his bounty he should think proper. The Bishop undressed himself in some church or house near to the Cathedral; upon which the Archdeacon's servant seized his Riding-coat, Gloves, Hat, and Boots, for his master. From thence the Archdeacon conducted him to the Cathedral Church robed in his pontificals, and placed him in his throne. He had an allowance of hay and provender for fifteen horses, as long as he con-

* Harpsfield, Hist. Eccl. Ang. Seculum XIII. cap. 70. Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, Pt. 2d. p. 143.

Cathedral Church of Winchester by William de Askeby, Archdeacon of Northampton, by Commission from the Cardinal Archdeacon of Canterbury's Procurator General, on the 9th of July, 1368; who acknowledges him to be Bishop of Winchester by Election, Confirmation, and Consecration, without any mention at all of the Pope's Provision.

As soon as the dispute between the King and the Pope, which was in effect no

tinued in attendance upon this office, meat and drink for three days, and every night four gallons of wine at his supper; two great torches of wax during his whole stay; and every night two lesser torches, and two dozen of wax candles. On the day of Inthronization, the Bishop's table being at the upper end of the hall, a table on the right side of the hall was furnished for the Archdeacon and the company whom he should please to invite: the Bishop drank to him out of a Cup of silver or silver gilt; and the Cup belonged to the Archdeacon. He had besides ten marks sterling in money for the expences of his Journey. The Bishop's Bed also used anciently to be demanded and allowed, as the fee of the Archdeacon's Chamberlain: but this seems very early to have grown out of use. And the rest of these customs began by degrees to be laid aside and to become obsolete, when the Bishops began to be inthroned by proxy, and the Archdeacons left off assisting at the celebration of this solemnity in person, and at last established the practice of performing their office by deputation; so that, I suppose, the pecuniary part of the Fee, or some equivalent for the whole in that shape, is all that at present remains to them.

other

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other than a contention which of them should be the author of Wykeham's promotion, was accommodated; being now qualified, by his advancement in the Church, to receive the highest dignity in the State, he was constituted Chancellor of England. He was even possessed of this great office while he was only Bishop Elect; for he was confirmed in it on the 17th of September, 1367. We need not be surprised to find, that the Parliament of the next year was opened by Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, though Wykeham was then Chancellor: for the part of addressing the Parliament by the King's command, or of Speaker of the House of Lords, was not yet by custom appropriated to the office of Chancellor.

¹ Dugdale's *Chronica Series of Chancellors*, &c. from Chart. 41. Ed. III. that is, 1367. He refers it to the year 1368, by a mistake which runs through the whole reign of Ed. III. in his Series. All other Authors, who mention Wykeham's promotion, speak of him as being made Chancellor and Bishop of Winchester both about the same time. Philipot's *Catalogue of Chancellors*, p. 42. Spelman's *Glossary* in V. *Cancellarius*. Wharton, *Ang. Sacr.* Vol. I. p. 47 and 381. Froissart, Vol. I. chap. 249.

² Rot. Parl. 42. Ed. III.

³ See Cotton's *Abridg. of Parl. Rolls*.

Considering the infinite multiplicity of affairs, which Wykeham had transacted for the King, in the several employments with which he had been entrusted, it was impossible for the most upright or prudent man to have acted in every particular with so much exactness and caution, as to guard against the envy and malice of those enemies, which high station in a court is sure to create. As therefore he had now quitted some of those employments, no more to be engaged in them, and was to act from henceforth in a new sphere, he thought it proper to secure himself with regard to the past, by obtaining a full acquittance and discharge from the King. This the King granted him in the fullest and amplest manner, by his ⁴ letters patent, dated May the 22d, 1368.

A Par-

* “ Rex omnibus, &c. Sciatis quod nos considerantes grata & utilia obsequia nobis per Venerabilem Patrem W. de Wykeham Episc. Wint. a diu impensa, & magnum locum quem nobis in nostris agendis diversimode tenuit & indies tenet, graves & sumptuosos labores subeundo, ac volentes proinde ipsius tranquillitati & quieti prout convenit providere, de gratia nostra speciali & certa scientia pardonavimus eidem Episc. omnimoda debita appresta & compota ex quibus nobis causa quorumcunque denario-
rum”

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A Parliament was summoned to be held at Westminster, May 27th, 1369. The King, Lords, and Commons being assembled in the Painted Chamber, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, declared the cause of their meeting in the following manner^s.

“Sirs, the King, in all occasions of
“importance which concerned himself or
“his kingdom, hath always acted by the
“counsell and advice of his Lords and
“Commons, which he hath ever found to
“be good and loyal, and for which he
“most heartily thanketh them. It is very
“well known to you all, that our Lord
“the King some time ago, with regard to
“the claim and right which he hath in
“the Kingdom of France, by the advice
“of his Lords and Commons, concluded
“a peace with his adversary of France
“upon certain conditions: namely, That
“his said adversary should surrender to

“rum,” &c. — He gives him full acquittance of all demands of money, jewels, &c. received or delivered before he was bishop, and since; releases him, his heirs, and executors, from all actions real, personal, and mixt, &c. in the fullest terms. Rot. Pat. 42. Ed. III. p. 1. m. 5. MS. Rymer, Vol. XI. N^o 40.

^s Rot. Parl. 43. Ed. III.

" him certain lands and countries beyond
 " the seas, and should also pay to him
 " certain sums of money, within a time
 " limited by the treaty; and likewise, that
 " in consideration of his renouncing all
 " jurisdiction and sovereignty in Gascony,
 " and all other countries belonging to the
 " King beyond the seas, our Lord the
 " King, on his part, would at the same
 " time renounce the title of King of
 " France. But his said adversary not on-
 " ly wholly failed to surrender the lands
 " and countries agreed upon by the Trea-
 " ty, and made no payment of the mo-
 " ney, but has also accepted of the appeals
 " of the Count D'Armynac, the Lord De
 " la Bret, and others, who are lieges of
 " our Lord the King in Gascony; and in
 " consequence of these appeals, hath sum-
 " moned the Prince of Gascony to appear
 " before him at Paris, on the first day of
 " May now past, to answer to their ap-
 " peals, contrary to the terms of the Trea-
 " ty. And moreover, he hath sent a great
 " number of armed men, who ⁶ wage war
 " in Gascony, and have taken there by

⁶ Qui chimachent de guerre.

" force,

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“ force, and still keep possession of, towns,
 “ castles, fortresses, and other places, have
 “ seized the king’s subjects, killed some,
 “ and imprisoned others, or set upon them
 “ grievous ransoms: and farther, hath
 “ now lately sent a great number of men
 “ into the demesne lands of the King in
 “ Ponthieu, who have seized his towns,
 “ castles, and fortresses, by force of arms.
 “ On these attempts of the King of France
 “ upon the said Principality, contrary to
 “ the form of the Treaty, the Prince sent
 “ special messengers fully to inform the
 “ King of them; who also acquainted him,
 “ that the Prince upon this occasion, had
 “ summoned the wisest men of the Prin-
 “ cipality, and consulted with them, whe-
 “ ther upon advice of these open infrac-
 “ tions of the Peace, the King might not
 “ by right and reason resume and use the
 “ Title of King of France; who answered,
 “ that he might do it by Right, and good
 “ Faith. Upon this point the Archbishop
 “ of Canterbury and the other Prelates
 “ are charged by the King to consult to-
 “ gether, and to declare to him their ad-
 “ vice and counsell. The King also will-
 “ eth, as the custom hath been at these

“ times, that all those who think themselves aggrieved, should present their petitions; who shall be answered: and for this purpose he hath assigned certain Clerks to receive them, and certain Lords and others to answer them.”

I need only mention, that the King by the advice of his Parliament resumed the style of King of France; the war was renewed on both sides, and carried on very much to the advantage of the French. Charles the Vth had taken his measures so well, and concealed his preparations with so much artifice and dissimulation, that the English were surprised unprovided for the war. The Prince of Wales was disabled, by the fatal disease which he brought with him out of Spain, from attending to the war with his usual spirit and activity: his health daily declined apace, and with it the English affairs in France.

In two years time the French had made such a progress, that they began to think of transferring the war into England, and were making vast preparations for an invasion. Upon this the King summoned a Parliament to meet Feb. 24, 1370-1, which

which the Lord Chancellor opened with the following Speech ⁷.

“ Sirs, You know very well, that in
 “ the last Parliament, the King, with your
 “ approbation, resumed the title of King
 “ of France, because his adversary had in-
 “ fringed the peace before concluded be-
 “ tween them, and usurped the sovereignty,
 “ which by the terms of the peace ought
 “ always to have belonged to the King.
 “ On this occasion and others the King
 “ hath incurred great expences; having
 “ sent some of his Lords and others with
 “ a great number of forces, in order to
 “ recover and maintain his right. And
 “ now he hath received certain intelligence
 “ by his friends and allies, that his said
 “ Adversary is making himself stronger
 “ than ever he was before, and hath le-
 “ vied such a number of forces, as seemeth
 “ to him sufficient, this year, to dispossess
 “ the King of all the lands and countries
 “ which he hath beyond the seas; as well
 “ in Gascony, as at Calais, Guienne, Pon-
 “ thieu, and his other castles and places
 “ there. He hath moreover gotten ready so

⁷ Rot. Parl. 45. Ed. III.

“ many galleys and other ships of war, as
 “ seem to him sufficient to destroy the
 “ whole Navy of England: and * useth also
 “ his utmost efforts to send a vast force of
 “ armed men into this country, to destroy
 “ it, and subject it to his own power.
 “ Therefore the King requireth and charg-
 “ eth his Lords and Commons here as-
 “ sembled, to consult upon these points,
 “ and to give him their advice, how his
 “ Kingdom may be well guarded, and the
 “ Navy defended and maintained against
 “ the malice of his enemies; as also, for
 “ the safe-guard of the King’s countries
 “ beyond the seas, and for the maintenance
 “ of the war in those parts, and the re-
 “ duction of them. The King likewise
 “ commandeth those, who would present
 “ their petitions, to deliver them to the
 “ Clerks assigned for this purpose, and
 “ they shall be graciously answered.”

I have inserted these speeches just as they
 stand recorded in the Parliament Rolls.
 They appear there to a great disadvantage;
 tho’ delivered in English, they are recorded
 in French; a language at that time more

* Et auxi se afforce & bie d’envoier.

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barbarous and unfit for the purpose, even than our own. They are shortened and given in substance only; the connexion and turn of the sentences is altered, and, in the first of them particularly, the form of the whole is partly direct and partly oblique; an inconsistency, which it was necessary to correct by one or two small deviations from the original. Yet from these Speeches we may observe, that Wykeham spoke upon these occasions more like a Statesman, than most of the Chancellors of those times, especially the Ecclesiastics. It ⁹ was almost their constant practice to lay down some Text of Scripture by way of Thesis for their discourse, and to spend much time in dividing, and subdividing, and making very injudicious applications of it to the occasion. Not satisfied with this, they frequently go out of their way to introduce still more quotations of Scripture, and continue their discourse as impertinently as they began it. Wykeham had more judgment than to give into so absurd a practice: he always speaks di-

⁹ See Cotton's Abridg. of the Parliament Rolls. *passim*.

rectly

rectly to the point in question, and gives a plain and distinct account of the present state of public affairs.

In this Parliament the Lords and Commons represented to the King, that the Government of the Realm had been for a long time in the hands of men of the Church, by which many mischiefs had in times past happened, and more might happen in times to come, to the disherison of the Crown, and great prejudice of the Kingdom: they petitioned therefore, that Secular men only might be principal Officers of the King's courts and household, and none of the Clergy: saving unto the King his prerogative of choosing and removing Officers, provided they be of the Laity. The King's answer to this petition was only, That he would do therein by advice of his Council. Though he declined granting their request, so as to make a Law in consequence of it for the future; yet he soon resolved to comply with their desire for the present. Accordingly we find, that ¹ on the 14th day of March the Bishop of Winchester delivered the Great

¹ Rot. Parl. 45. Ed. III.

² Rymer. Fœd. Vol. 6th, pag. 683.

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Seal to the King, which the King two days after gave to Sir Robert de Thorp. The Bishop was present at the ceremony of constituting the new Chancellor, and afterwards at that of his first opening the Great Seal in Westminster Hall. From which circumstances, as well as from the state of the case itself, we may conclude, that he was neither dismissed with any marks of the King's displeasure, nor was himself dissatisfied with his removal. To the same purpose it may be observed, that the ³ two Great and two Privy Seals, one of each of which was made the year before on the King's resuming the title and arms of France, remained by Commission from the King in his Custody till the 28th of the same month, when he delivered them to the King: and that ⁴ soon after he received the King's writ of Summons to attend the Great Council, which was held at Winchester, to consider of a proper method of levying the 50,000 *l.* granted by Parlia-

³ Rymer. Fœd. One of each was inscribed *Rex Franciæ & Angliæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ*: the other *Rex Angliæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ & Aquitaniæ*.

⁴ Registr. Wykeham. pt. 4. fol. 4. dated April 27. an. reg. 45.

ment. To¹ this Great Council only three other Bishops, four Abbots, and thirteen temporal Lords, were summoned, with² whom were joined some of the Commons named by the King. Neither have we any reason to imagine, that the Bishop of Winchester in particular was in any degree of disfavour with the Commons, or was at all sunk in their esteem and confidence. We find³, that in the year 1373 the Commons name him with seven other Lords, whom they petition to have appointed as a Committee to confer with them on the supplies to be granted to the King. It has been said,⁴ that the removal of the Clergy from the offices of state was owing to the influence of the duke of Lancaster, who was not their friend. I know not on what foundation this is said with

¹ Dugdale. Summonit. ad Parl. Some of our ancient Historians have mistaken this Great Council for a Parliament: T. Walsingham. Anonymus published by Hearn in vol. 2d of Walter Hemingsford. They have been followed in this mistake by Nath. Bacon. Hist. & Polit. discourse, &c. pt. 2d. pag. 35. edit. 1719. and Lord Bolingbroke, in Oldcastle's Remarks on English History.

² Brady's History of England, Vol. 2.

³ Rot. Parl. 47. Ed. III.

⁴ Parker. Antiq. Britan. Collier. Eccl. Hist.

regard

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regard to the Duke's inclination towards the Clergy in general at this time: as to the Bishop of Winchester in particular, he seems on the contrary to have continued hitherto very much in the Duke's good graces, who both before, and not long after this, honoured him with singular marks of his friendship and confidence. The Duke, ⁹ before his setting out on his expeditions to France in the years 1369 and 1373, obtained of the King a grant to certain Trustees named by him, of the custody and intire administration of all the revenues of his castles, manors, and estates, for one year after his own decease, in order to the payment of his debts, and for other uses, as he should direct. He appointed the Bishop of Winchester one of his Trustees for both these grants. In the beginning of the year 1375, he likewise constituted him his attorney, together with the Earl of Arundel, to appear and act for him in any of the Courts of England, during his absence at the Congress of Bruges.

The truth of the matter seems to be, that the Laity in general looked with an

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, Vol. 7th. p. 8. & 61.

evil eye upon the Clergy, who had of late filled for the most part the great posts of honour and profit in the state; which, as it was obvious to remark, neither lay within their province, nor were suitable to their function and character. The practice, however improper in itself and liable to objection, yet seems to have taken its rise from the necessity of the times: the men of abilities had for a long time been chiefly employed abroad in the wars; this was the most open road to riches and honours, and every one was pushing forward in it. Besides, it was not at any time easy to find among the Laity persons properly qualified, in point of knowledge and letters, to fill with sufficiency some of the highest offices. We see the King was now obliged to have recourse to the Lawyers: they gave as little satisfaction as the Churchmen had done, and in a few years it was found necessary to discharge them, and to call in the Churchmen again.

The French invasion which had given such an alarm in England, that ' even the whole body of the Clergy from the age of

* Registr. Wykeham. pt. 4th. fol. 5. Wilkins's Concil. Mag. Brit. Vol. 3. p. 91.

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sixteen to sixty were ordered to be arrayed, mustered, and in arms, came at last to nothing. In the year 1374 the Duke of Lancaster concluded a truce with the French, in which by their intrigues they gained still more, than they had done in the war. The truce was next year renewed; and by this time the English were in a manner driven out of France.

Pope Gregory the Eleventh had interposed with his mediation, and had prevailed with the Kings of England and France to send their Ambassadors to Bruges to treat of a Peace. On this occasion the Pope^a wrote to the Bishop of Winchester, as to a person who had the greatest influence with the King, exhorting and conjuring him to use his utmost endeavours to incline him to an accommodation. His Holiness did not omit, in the conclusion of his Letter, to beseech him as earnestly, to forward by all possible means the payment of the Subsidy, which on various pretences he had imposed on the Clergy of England, and which^b was now moderated to the Sum

^a See Appendix, N^o VI.

^b Registr. Wykeham. pt. 3d. a fol. 133.

of 60,000 Florins, in a conference between the agents of both parties at the Congress of Bruges; on condition however, that 40,000 Florins more should be paid, to make up the Sum at first demanded, in case that the Treaty should happily terminate in a Peace between the two Kingdoms.

THE

THE
L I F E
OF
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

S E C T I O N III.

Ecclesiastical affairs during the same time:

THOUGH Wykeham was so deeply engaged in affairs of State, and so much taken up in his personal attendance upon the King, yet he was not in the mean time wanting to his Episcopal Function, or remiss in the care of his Diocese. While ¹ he was Administrator of the See, he acted only by his Commissary General, John de Wormenhale. When he was in full possession of the Bishoprick, one of the first things that required his atten-

¹ Register. Wykeham. part 1.

tion was the care of the Episcopal Houses and Buildings of all sorts, which his Predecessor ² had left very much out of repair in general, and many of them in a ruinous condition. The Buildings belonging to the Bishops of Winchester were at this time very large and numerous: besides a great many granges, parks, warrens, and the like, they had ten ³ or twelve different Castles, Manor-houses, or Palaces of Residence, properly accommodated for the reception of themselves and their retinue, to all which in their turns they usually resorted, living according to the custom of those times chiefly upon the produce of their own estates. So great a demand, as the Bishop had upon his Predecessor's Executors for dilapidations, could not very soon, or very easily, be brought to an ac-

² " *Dicti Executores dixerunt sibi constare, quod*
 " *ædificia, turres, muri, & clausuræ, in castris & mane-*
 " *riis dicti Episcopatus tempore mortis ejusdem nuper*
 " *Episc. diversimode fuerant ruinosæ, & maxima de-*
 " *bilitate depressæ, & quamplurima eorum omnino*
 " *ad terram diruta & prostrata, quod de necessitate*
 " *reparatione maxima indiguerint.*" — *Regist. Wyke-*
ham. part 3. a. fol. 64.

³ Wolvesey, South-Waltham, Merwell, Sutton, High-Clere, Farnham, Eshere, Wargrave, Southwerk, Taunton, &c.

commo-

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commodation: however the account was at last settled between them without proceeding on either side to any action at Law. In ⁴ the first place they delivered to him the standing stock of the Bishoprick due to him by right and custom: namely, 127 Draught-Horses, 1556 head of black Cattle, 3876 Weathers, 4777 Ews, 3521 Lambs: and afterwards for dilapidations, in cattle, corn, and other goods, to the value of 1662*l.* 10*s.* sterling. The Bishop made a farther demand of 700 Marks, as still due to him and allowed upon account; which Edyngdon's executors acknowledged, and promised to pay. This matter was finally settled Feb. 6th 1371-2.

The Bishop immediately set about this

⁴ Regist. Wykeham. part 3. a. fol. 63.

⁵ " Petrus de Roches [sive de Rupibus] legavit Ecclesie Wynton. & Episcopis successoribus suis, qui pro tempore erunt, in staurum vivum, quod sequitur; ita quod quilibet Episcopus Wynton. Successori suo et Ecclesie Wynt. in decessu suo tantum in staurum sub pena anathematis relinquet necessario: videlicet,

" De bobus MDLVI.

" De affris CXXVII.

" De multon, MMMDCCCLXXVI multon.

" De ovibus matricibus MMMMDCCLXXVII.

" De agnis MMMDXXI."

MS. penes Dom. Episc. Wint. fol. 90.

great work of repairing all the Episcopal Buildings in such a manner, as might have been expected from one of his generous spirit, and of his skill and experience in Architecture. To ⁶ supply himself with the best stone in sufficient quantity, he purchased the use of the stone-quarries of Quarrer Abby in the Isle of Wight, which were formerly much in repute, tho' now for many ages disused and neglected. The Abbot engaged to assist him, as general director and surveyor of these preparations: and the Bishop wrote circular letters to all the Ecclesiastics of the Island, both Regular and Secular, to desire them to send in as many workmen, carriages, and other necessaries for the work, as they could supply him with, at the demand, and according to the directions of the Abbot; all to be defrayed at his own expence. In ⁷ these repairs of the Episcopal houses, together with several new buildings, raised by him upon the estates of the Bishoprick, he expended in the whole above 20,000 Marks.

In ⁸ the Year 1373 the Bishop held a Vi-

⁶ Ibid. part 3. a. fol. 47.

⁷ MS. Coll. Wint.

⁸ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. a. fol. 90, &c.

sitation

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sitation of his whole Diocese ; not only of the secular Clergy through the several Deaneries, but also of the Monasteries, and Religious houses of all sorts, all ⁹ which he visited

“ Nuper dum Civitatem & Diocef. nostram Wynt. clerum & populum ejusdem, cepimus *personaliter* & “ *actualiter* visitare.”——*Ibid.* fol. 99. The City of Winchester, tho’ much diminished in its greatness and splendor since the time when it was the Metropolis of the Saxon Monarchy, and still continuing to decline, was nevertheless, at this time, a large and populous place. I shall here give a short view of its Ecclesiastical state ; from which also some judgement may be formed of its condition in other respects.

The Monasteries and other Religious Houses in the City and Suburbs of Winchester.

The Old Minster, or Cathedral Church of St. Swythun, a Prior and Convent of XLVI Monks, Benedictines.

The New Minster, or Abby of Hide, Benedictines.

The Nunnaminster, or Abby of St. Mary ; an Abbess, and XXI Nuns (at the Dissolution :) Benedictines. A little within the East Gate, on the left hand as you enter it.

The Hospital of the Almonry of the Church of St. Swythun ; Sisters maintained by the Monastery : commonly called the ~~Su~~stern ~~Sp~~ytal. Adjoining to the present College on the West.

The College of St. Elizabeth ; a Provost, VI Chaplains Priests, VI Clerks and VI Choristers. Near the present College on the South-East.

The Chapel of Holy Trinity ; a Warden and several Priests. On the North side of the Church-yard of the Abby of St. Mary.

visited in person. The next year he sent his Commissioners with powers to correct and

* Regist. Wykeham, part 3. a. fol. 112.

A Convent of each of the IV Orders of Mendicant Friars. The Augustin Friars, just without South-Gate, on the left in the road to Southampton. The Grey Friars, or Minors, on the right just within East-Gate. The Dominicans, or Preaching Friars, on the North, within the City.

The Prior and Brethren of St. Peter in the Church of St. Maurice.

The Church of St. Mary Kalendar.

* Tanner Notit. Monast. and see Appen. N^o XVII.

The Parochial Churches and Chapels in the City and Suburbs of Winchester, in the time of Adam de Orleton Bp. of Wint. i. e. A. D. 1333—1345. From MS. Coll. Wint.

Ecclesiæ Taxatæ.

Ecclesia Sti. Johannis de Monte.	Ecclesiæ Sti. Bartholomæi in atrio de Hyda.
——— Sti. Petri de Churchull.	——— Sti. Stephani juxta Wolvesey.
——— Sti. Jacobi.	——— Sti. Laurentii Wynton.
——— Stæ. Fidis.	——— Sti. Mauriti.
——— Stæ. Anastasiæ.	Capella Stæ. Gertrudis.
——— Btæ Mariæ de Valibus, cum Capella.	

Ecclesiæ non Taxatæ.

Capella Stæ. Trinitatis: (sub Custode; above-mentioned among the Religious Houses.)	Ecclesia Sti. Johannis de Hospitali.
Ecclesia de Colebrookstret.	——— Btæ Mariæ in Tanerestret.
	——— Sti. Pancratii.

Ecclesia

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and reform the several irregularities and abuses, which he had discovered in the course of his Visitation.

Some years afterward, the Bishop, having visited three several times all the Religious Houses throughout his Diocese, and being well informed of the state and condition of each, and of the particular abuses which required correction and reformation, beside the orders which he had already given, and the remedies which he had occasionally applied by his commissioners, now issued his injunctions to each

Ecclesia Sti. Johannis de Edera.	Ecclesia Sti. Alphegi.
— Sti. Martini in vico carnificum.	— Sti. Petroci
— Sti. Michaelis extra Kyngate.	— Sti. Michaelis in Judaismo.
— Btæ. Mariæ de Walda.	— Sti. Salvatoris.
— Sti. Ruwoldi (vel Rombaldi.)	— Btæ Mariæ extra portam Borealem.
— Btæ. Mariæ de Kallender.	— Stæ Margaretæ.
— Sti. Laurentii.	— Sti. Petri de Albopane.
— Sti. Laurentii de Parchemenestret.	— Sti. Andreae.
— Sti. Petri de Marcell. (f. de Macello.)	— Sti. Nicholai de Goldstret.
— Sti. Clementis.	— Omnium Sanctorum in Goldstret.
	— Btæ Mariæ in Atrio Sti. Swythuni.

of them. They were accommodated to their several exigencies, and intended to correct the abuses introduced, and to recall them all to a strict observation of the Rules of their respective Orders. Many of these injunctions¹ are still extant, and are evident monuments of the care and attention, with which he discharged this part of his Episcopal duty.

But the zeal and diligence, with which the Bishop pursued the wholesome work of discipline, and the reformation of abuses, will be best exemplified by an account of his proceedings in the Visitation of the Hospital of St. Cross; of which we are able to give a more particular detail, as he met with some difficulties and obstructions in them, and was, upon that occasion, engaged in a long and troublesome dispute. It will be necessary to premise an account of the foundation and constitution of this ample and remarkable charity, which, if it is more particular than is elsewhere to be met with, will not, perhaps, be the less agreeable to the curious reader.

¹ MS Coll. Nov. They bear date 1386-7.

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. 73

The * Hospital of St. Cross, at Sparkeford, near Winchester, was founded by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and brother to King Stephen, in the year ³ 1132, for the health of his own Soul, and the Souls of his Predecessors, and of the Kings of England. The Founder's institution requires, That Thirteen poor men, so decayed and past their strength, that without charitable assistance they cannot maintain themselves, shall abide continually in the Hospital, who shall be provided with proper cloathing, and beds suitable to their infirmities; and shall have an allowance daily of good wheat bread, good beer, three messes each for dinner, and one for supper. If any one of these shall happen to recover his health and strength, he shall be respectfully discharged, and another admitted in his place. That besides these Thirteen Poor, an Hundred other Poor, of modest behaviour, and the most indigent that can be found, shall be received daily at dinner time; and shall have each a loaf of coarser bread, one mess, and a

² The account of St. Cross is collected from Regist: Wykeham, and MS. Coll. Nov.

³ MS. penes Dom. Episcopum Wint. fol. 22.

proper

proper allowance of beer, with leave to carry away with them whatever remains of their meat and drink after dinner. The Founder also ordered other charities to be distributed to the poor in general, as the revenues of the Hospital should be able to bear, the whole of which was to be applied to such uses.

The Endowment of the Hospital consisted chiefly in a Donation of several considerable Rectories * for the most part belonging to the Diocese of Winchester, and of the

* The Churches of Ferreham, [with the Manor of Ashton,] Nuttessellynge, Mellebrock, Twyford, Henton, Alwarestock, Exton, Hulseborne, Wytcherche, Chilbalton, Wodehay, Awelton, [or Aulton in Canyngmersh, Com. Wilts.] Wynteney, [or Wytteney, Com. Oxon.] Stocton, [Com. Wilts.] Ovynton, with their appertenancies and dependencies; and the tythes of the Lordship of Waltham; and other rents assigned in the City of Winchester. These by the Charter of Foundation. To these were added by the Founder the Churches of Waltham, Upham, and Baghurst; and, by the same or some other benefactor, that of Farle. "Licet in ista carta [Fundationis] contineantur diverse donationes ecclesiarum fact. domui S^{te} Crucis predictæ, nichilominus dicta domus nullas earum habet sibi appropriatas preter ecclesias de Husborne, Whitcherche, Fareham, & Twyford, cum capellis; sed habet ex eis certas pensiones, ut superius dictum est. De ecclesia vero de Wytteneye nichil omnino percipit." MS. penes Dom. Episc. Wint. fol. 2.

Bishop's

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. 75

Bishop's Patronage: the greatest part of which, tho' granted to the Hospital by the terms of the Charter of Foundation, were, from the first, only made subject to the payment of certain annual Pensions to it; the rest were appropriated to the Hospital. The Revenues of the Hospital appear, by an old record of Inquisition, produced in Wykeham's time by the Prior of Winchester, from the Archives of his Monastery, without date, to have amounted to about 250 l. per annum: they are said by Wykeham in his letters to the Pope, to be above 300 l. per annum; and are proved by the testimony of one who had been long Steward of the Hospital, and many others, to have been, at that time, above 400 l. per annum. The whole Revenues of the Hospital were free from all Taxes both to the King and Pope, as being wholly appropriated to the Poor; except 7 l. 4 s. 6 d. (called elsewhere 8 l.) per annum, which was the valuation of the Prior's, or Master's, Portion.

The particular allowances to the Poor, with their valuations according to the above-mentioned Record of Inquisition, were as follows: Each of the Thirteen secular Brethren

thren had daily one loaf of good wheat bread, of five marks weight; (or 3 pounds 4 ounces;) one gallon and half of good small Beer; a sufficient quantity of Potage; three messes at Dinner, namely, one mess called **Mortrell**, made of milk and **Wastelbred**, one mess of flesh or fish, and one pittance as the day should require; and one mess for Supper; The whole valued at 17d. q. a week; in Wykeham's time at 3d. a day. On six Holidays in the year they had white bread and ale in the same quantities; and one of their messes was roast-meat, or fish of a better sort; and on the Eves of those Holidays, and that of the Founder's Obit, they had an extraordinary allowance of four gallons of Ale among them. The hundred Poor were fed in a place called **Hundredmennesshall**: each of them had a loaf of

^s The Glossaries give us no very satisfactory account of these words: the meaning of the first is better determined by the description here given, than from any other explication that I can find of it. *Wastelbred* was perhaps a better sort of Bread, so called from *Wastell*, the Vessel, or Baskett, in which it was made, or carried, or weighed; as seems probable from the following passage: "Octo panes in *Wastellis*, ponderis cujuslibet *Wastelli* unius miche conventualis."—Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 177.

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. 77

coarser bread of 5 marks weight, 3 quarts of small beer, a sufficient quantity of pottage, or a mess of pulse, one herring, or two pilchers, or two eggs, or one farthing's worth of cheese; value 3 d. q. a week: of which Hundred Poor were always Thirteen of the poorer scholars of the Great Grammar School of Winchester, sent by the Schoolmaster. On the Anniversary of the Founder's Obit, August 9, being the Eve of St. Laurence, Three Hundred Poor were received at the Hospital: to each of the first hundred were given one loaf and one mess of the same sort with those of the Brethren's ordinary allowance, and three quarts of beer; to the second Hundred was given the usual Hundredmen's allowance; and to each of the third Hundred half a loaf of the Brethren's bread. On six Holidays in the year the Hundred men had each a loaf of the better sort of bread, and a double mess. There were besides, maintained in the Hospital, a Steward, with his clerk, two servants, and two horses; a Porter; nine servants; two teams of six horses each, and three Carters.

The Founder had in the year ⁶ 1157,

⁶ MS. Pepes Dom. Episc. Wint. fol. 23.

constituted

constituted the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem Guardians and Administrators of his Hospital of St. Cross, saving to the Bishop of Winchester his Canonical Jurisdiction. A dispute arising between Richard Toclive Bishop of Winchester, immediate successor to Henry de Blois, and the Master and Brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, concerning the administration of the Hospital, King Henry the Second interposed, and by his mediation an agreement was made between them. The Master and Brethren ceded to the Bishop of Winchester and his successors the Administration of the Hospital, the Bishop giving them the Impropriation of the Churches of Mordon and Hanniton for the payment of 53 marks per annum; and procuring them a discharge from the pension of 10 marks, two wax candles, and ten pound of wax, paid to the Monks of St. Swythun for the House of St. Cross, by ⁷ composition between them and the Brethren of St. Cross, made in the time of the Founder: and the Bishop moreover, out of regard to God, and for the health of the King's soul and his

⁷ MS. penes Dom. Episc. Wint. fol. 2.

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own, (and because the revenues of the Hospital were sufficient for the maintenance of many more poor, and ought not to be converted to other uses, as Wykeham represents to the Pope) orders, that besides the number instituted by the Founder, one Hundred additional poor should also be fed every day in the same manner at the Hospital. This agreement is dated April the 10th 1185, and was made at Dover in the presence of the King, and attested by him. This new institution of feeding an Hundred additional poor was not of long continuance: it had ceased long before Wykeham's time; and instead of it, by what authority I cannot say, was introduced the establishment of Four Priests, Thirteen secular Clerks, and seven Choristers, who were maintained in the Hospital for the performance of divine service in the church. The Four Priests dined at the Master's table, and had each a stipend of 13 s. 4 d. and the whole allowance to each was valued at 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum: the Thirteen Clerks had each daily a loaf of wheat Bread, weight 61 Shillings and 8 pence, (i. e. 3 lb. 1 oz.) three quarts of beer, and one mess of flesh or fish of the Brethren
was

was allotted to two of them, value 10d. q^a a week; the seven Choristers had each one loaf of the common family bread, and one mess, or the fragments of the Master's table and Common Hall, so as to have a sufficient provision, value 5 d. a week; and were taught at school in the Hospital.

Such was the institution and economy of the Hospital of St. Cross; which had hitherto been well observed in general, and constantly maintained with regard to all the particulars abovementioned. Wykeham indeed represents to the Pope, that some of the former Bishops of Winchester had preferred to it their nephews and kinsmen, not rightfully as to the Mastership of an Hospital, but as to an Ecclesiastical Benefice; who had converted to other purposes the revenues of it assigned to these pious uses, contrary to the Canons, and to the Founder's institution. In this he seems to have a particular view to John de Edyngdon, nephew to the late Bishop^s; who had quitted the Mastership some time be-

^s Bishop Edyngton collated his nephew to the Mastership of St. Cross Hospital, April 18, 1349, "In beneficium perpetuum & non curatum." Regist. Edyngdon, part 1. fol. 45.

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fore Wykeham came to the Bishoprick. By his manner of leaving this office we may pretty well judge how he had acted in it: he took away and alienated the whole stock belonging to the Hospital; all the cattle, corn, goods, instruments, utensils, and moveables whatsoever, either in the House itself, or upon the estates. Besides, the necessary repairs of dilapidations left by him amounted by computation to between three and four hundred pounds.

Wykeham was no sooner bishop of Winchester, than he resolved to rectify these abuses. William de Stowell, Edyngdon's successor, perhaps foreseeing the storm that was coming on, chose to make his retreat, and procured the Rectory of Burghclere in exchange for his Mastership. The Bishop admitted of the exchange; but ordered him immediately upon his resignation to make a full and particular inventory of all the stock and goods belonging to the Hospital at present, with an account of the state in which he at first received them, by way of Indenture between him and Richard de Lyntesford his successor; to keep one copy of it himself, to deliver another to his successor, and a third to him,

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the Bishop, for his better information, when he should come thither in person. This mandate is dated March 23, 1367, the day after Lyntesford's admission: William de Stowell immediately obeyed, and sent an inventory. The next step the Bishop took, was to send Commissaries to the Hospital, and the several manors and estates belonging to it, to examine into the state of things at the time of the death of Richard de Lusteshull late master, and inquire, what stock and goods his executors delivered to his successor John de Edyngdon. The Commission is dated April 20, 1368.

Lyntesford began now to repent of his exchange, not finding himself likely to make the advantages, which he had expected from his new preferment. The Bishop had sequestered his goods as a security for the stock of the Hospital. He took the same method that his Predecessor had done, and got an exchange of his Mastership with Roger de Cloune for the Rectory of Campsall in Yorkshire. Just as this affair was brought to a conclusion, the Bishop, being now fully and regularly informed of the embezzlements and abuses committed by the several late Masters of the Hospital,

issued

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issued a commission, dated July 30, 1370, to enquire into the particulars and value of the true and accustomed stock and goods belonging to it, as they ought to be transmitted from Master to Master; and to examine upon oath all persons that could give information in this affair, and particularly Edyngdon, Stowell, Lyntesford, late Masters, and Cloune the present Master.

Upon the report of his Commissioners, the Bishop summoned the four Masters to appear before him at Southwark on the 22d of October, 1370. He represents to them the design of the Foundation of the Hospital; that the whole revenues of it are to be applied to the use of the Poor, except the Master's allowance, taxed at 7l. 4s. 6d. and no more; and that the Master of the Hospital is obliged yearly to make an inventory, and give an account of his administration to his Diocesan, according to the Constitution⁹ of Clement the Vth, "*Quia contingit, &c.*" That the Mastership is not a perpetual Ecclesiastical Benefice, but a temporal Office requiring

⁹ Clementin. lib. 3. tit. 11. cap. 2.

continual residence and personal ministry. That therefore he will proceed against them, enforce the said constitution, and compel all and every one of them, to make an inventory, and give an account of their administration. They plead, that they are not obliged, nor was it ever the custom, so to do. Roger de Cloune's Plea in particular is; that the house of St. Cross is a perpetual Ecclesiastical Benefice, sine-cure, free from all obligation of making oath, giving any inventory, or rendring any account; that it was principally founded for the honour of the worship of God, and has nothing of the nature or use of an Hospital; the Brethren received into the House being weak and infirm in body, but no way diseased or infected; so not coming under the description of an Hospital, according to the terms of Clement's constitution; and that the Master has the free administration of all the possessions and goods belonging to it, with the burthen only of making a certain distribution to a certain number of poor, both within and without the house.

Upon this Plea, by the help of all the cavils and evasions, that the forms of Law could

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. 85

could supply them with, the Masters contrived to protract the suit through a great number of hearings for almost a year and a half; when the Bishop's Commissaries proceeded to give sentence¹: that the Masters had not proved their allegations, and ought to be compelled by Ecclesiastical Censures to give an account of their administration.

Against this whole proceeding, before sentence was pronounced, Roger de Cloune appealed to the Pope. The Bishop at the same time writes to the Pope: representing to him the whole state of the case, and that Cloune designed by his Appeal to set on foot an endless suit, that in the mean time he might with impunity embezzle and convert to his own use the goods and revenues of the Hospital; and begs his Holiness to interpose. The² Pope, rejecting the Appeal of Cloune, takes the cause into his own hands, and constitutes the Bishop of London his Delegate and judge in it. Before him the Masters appear by their Proctors. Roger de Cloune excepts against the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and the Pope's Bulle, as surreptitiously ob-

¹ Feb. 23, 1372-3.

² Feb. 25, 1372-3.

tained, and upon an unfair state of the case. Edyngdon joins in the exception. Stowell and Lyntesford, who in the whole were much less obnoxious, who had before submitted themselves absolutely to the Bishop of Winchester's will and disposal, upon oath and under the penalty each of 100 l. and had made a formal denunciation to him of Cloune's illegal practices, refuse to join in it.

After many hearings, adjournments, altercations upon the exception, and subterfuges of all sorts, the Bishop charges the present Master with Dilapidation, Dissipation, and Substraction, public and notorious, of the goods of the Hospital; and petitions, that they may be sequestered, while the cause shall be depending: the sequestration is issued, and the Bishop orders, that the poor be provided for as usual. He had some time before appointed a Coadjutor to Cloune, without whose advice and consent he was not to act; and strictly commanded him to abstain from all sort of alienation of the Hospital's goods for the future. Cloune seems to have procured the Mastership with no other design than to enrich himself with the plunder of the Hospital.

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WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. 87

He knew the hazard he run of being obliged to refund ; but let Law and Justice do their worst, he thought he should find his account in it in the end. He therefore at first seized upon the whole revenues and stock of the Hospital, as his property ; he sold the corn and the cattle, and a great quantity of materials, that had been laid in for repairs, and converted the money to his own use : while the suit was depending, he had the impudence to pull down the larder of the Hospital, and to sell the materials. Indeed it was now of no use : the Great Hall was fallen in ; the Hundred Poor were turned away ; and the thirteen Brethren were forced to quit the Hospital, and provide for themselves where they could.

The ³ Judge proceeds at last to the definitive sentence : That the Bishop hath sufficiently proved his libel against the Masters. Roger de Cloune is condemned in costs of suit : 50 l. is demanded, as the Bishop's expences, given in upon oath by his Proctor, which the Judge moderates to 44 l. Cloune was willing to try if it was not

³ Dec. 5, 1373.

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still

still possible to protract the affair, and appealed again to the court of Rome: his appeal seems to have been rejected there: for next ⁴ year he appears before the Bishop of London, and professing himself better informed, gives up his cause, renounces his appeal, and submits to the sentence: and then obliges himself by oath to give an inventory, and render an account of his administration annually to the Bishop of Winchester, when he shall be called upon so to do. Upon which he is absolved from all sentences of excommunication pronounced against him for contumacy, and enjoined for penance, to observe his oath of obeying the orders of the Church in this behalf ⁵.

It

⁴ Jan. 11, 1374.

⁵ In the Bishop of Winchester's MS. fol. 56. it is said, that Roger de Cloune renounced his appeal, and relinquished the Hospital: ("appellationem suam deseruit, & renuntiavit eidem, ac dictum hospitale habuit pro derelicto:") upon which the Bishop collated to it Nicholas de Wykeham Clerk, who afterward resigned it. Agreeably to which, the Resignation of the Hospital of St. Cross by Nicholas de Wykeham is entered in Wykeham's Register, under the year 1382; and in this MS. fol. 30. But this passage of the MS. above cited, is corrected in the margin (probably by John de Campeden, the next Master of St. Cross) to the following effect: "That upon Cloune's relinquishing the Hospital,

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It seems to have been a custom at this time, for the Master of St. Cross to constitute a Deputy, who presided at the Hospital for him: such was one William de Castleford, Rector of St. Pancras Winchester, who was Cloune's agent and minister in all his iniquities there. He had been so deeply engaged in this affair, that he thought it proper to absent himself upon the occasion. The Bishop, as he could

“pital, the Bishop kept it in his own hands, and under his own government, for nine years, two weeks, and five days. And whereas Nicholas de Wykeham was by some reputed to have been collated to the said Hospital, when in reality he never had been so collated; on this account the Bishop caused him to renounce all right and title which he might seem to have had to the said Hospital.” From which I collect, that the Bishop found it necessary to keep the Mastership, by a kind of Sequestration, in his own hands, Cloune still continuing in legal possession of it, in order to recover the Hospital, its buildings, estates, and revenues, out of that state of ruin and dissipation, to which the present and late Masters had reduced it; and that he employed his kinsman Nicholas de Wykeham, a person of approved diligence, abilities, and integrity, in the whole management of this difficult business. He afterwards, upon the death of Cloune, (which happened on the 8th of September, 1382, MS. Harleian. N^o. 1616. p. 95.) conferred the Mastership on John de Campeden, one in whom he had likewise the greatest confidence; having for many years had experience of his fidelity in affairs of importance.

not reach him otherwise, proceeded against him, and excommunicated him, for non-residence.

'Tis not to be doubted, but that the Bishop of Winchester, after having pursued this affair so earnestly for above six years, and having at last overcome all obstructions, called the delinquents to a severe account, and perfectly reinstated the Hospital in all its rights, and re-established its primitive use and institution. While the dispute was depending, he ⁷ recovered for the Hospital many original charters, bulles, and instruments, which had been suffered to remain in the hands of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. He took care ever after ⁸ to insert in the act of collation of the Mastership of this and all other Hospitals the Master's obligation to obey the constitution of Clement the Vth. In a word, he so far restored this charity to its original design, and left it under such due regulation, that his immediate successor Beaufort, having resolved to dispose of some part of his great wealth to

⁷ MS. penes Dom. Episc. Wint. fol. 120. & MS. Harleian, N^o 1616, p. 4.

⁸ Regist. Wykeham, part 1. passim.

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the like purposes, chose rather to make an enlargement of this institution, than to erect a new one of his own. He⁹ made a very great additional endowment of the Hospital of St. Cross, for the maintenance of two Priests, thirty-five Brethren, and three Sisters, beside those of the antient foundation. He gave his new establishment the name of ' The Alms-house of Noble Poverty ; by which it appears that he designed it for the relief of decayed Gentlemen. The Hospital, tho' much diminished in its revenues, by what means I cannot say, yet still subsists upon the remains of both endowments.

The Bishop was warned by the great abuses which he had seen at St. Cross, to keep a more watchful eye upon other charities of the same nature. While he had

⁹ Henry the VIth, in consideration of the sum of 13350 marks paid to him by Cardinal Beaufort, granted to him several manors, &c. of the yearly value of 500l. with licence to assign them to the Master and Brethren of St. Cross. With these the Cardinal endowed the Hospital in the year 1444, adding to them the impropriations of Crundale, and several other Churches of his Diocese and patronage. Mon. Ang. Vol. 2. p. 480. Leger-book of the Ch. of Winchester. N^o 1. fol. 66.

¹ " Domus Elemosinaria Nobilis Paupertatis." Leger-Book of the Church of Winchester. N^o 1. fol. 66.

that

that affair upon his hands, he held a visitation ⁶ of the Hospital of St. Thomas Southwerk; still proceeding upon the constitution of Clement the Vth. Afterward he visited ⁷ the Hospital of Sandon in the county of Surry. Whatever irregularities he might find there, he met with no resistance to his authority.

At the same time that Wykeham was thus engaged in the reformation of these charitable institutions, he was forming the plan of a much more noble and extensive foundation of his own, and taking his measures for putting it in execution. He had long resolved to dispose of the wealth, which the Divine Providence had so abundantly bestowed upon him, to some charitable use and for the public good; but was greatly embarrassed when he came to fix his choice upon some design, that was like to prove most beneficial, and least liable to abuse. He tells us ⁸ himself, that upon this occasion he diligently examined and considered the various rules of the

⁶ Regist. Wykeham, part '3. a. fol. 62. dated Jan. 11, 1371-2.

⁷ Ibid. fol. 116. dated Nov. 2, 1374.

⁸ Statut. Coll. Oxon. & Wint.

religious orders, and compared with them the lives of their several professors; but was obliged with grief to declare, that he could not any where find that the ordinances of their Founders, according to their true design and intention, were at present observed by any of them. This reflection affected him greatly, and inclined him to take the resolution of distributing his riches to the poor with his own hands, rather than employ them in establishing an institution, which might become a snare and an occasion of guilt to those, for whose benefit it should be designed. After much deliberation, and devout invocation of the Divine assistance, considering how greatly the number of the Clergy had been of late reduced by continual wars and frequent pestilences⁹, he determined at last to endeavour to remedy, as far as he was able, this

⁹ The great plague, which raged in England for five months only in the beginning of the year 1349, is said by the historians to have swept away almost one half of the people, and nine parts out of ten of the Clergy. It carried off whole families together, and left none remaining. In the Hospital of Sandon in the county of Surry, the Master and Brethren, every one
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this desolation of the Church, by relieving poor scholars in their clerical education; and to establish two Colleges of Students, for the honour of God and increase of

of them, died of it. Regist. Edyngdon, part 1. fol. 49. The parish Churches were for the most part deserted, and left without divine service: at Oxford the schools were shut, and the scholars dispersed themselves or died. Afterward, out of mere necessity, great numbers of illiterate laymen, who had lost their wives in the plague, though they could hardly read, much less understand, the common service, were admitted into Holy Orders. In 1361, there was another called the second or Lesser Plague, which swept away great numbers of the common people, many of the Nobility, and seven of the Bishops. Knyghton, Walsingham, Harding's Chronicle, Harpsfield, Parker, Ant. Wood. There was a third Plague in the year 1368. See Wilkins, Conc. Mag. Brit. Vol. 3. p. 74. Hollinshed says there was another in the year 1370, particularly at Oxford. The Monk of Evesham, in the Life of Rich. II. (published by Hearn) says there was another in the years 1381 and 1382, which he calls the Fifth Plague. The Parliament of 1376, in their remarkable petition against the oppressions of the Pope, represented to the King, 'That since the good antient customs of
' Piety and Charity had been perverted, and Covetousness and Simony increased, the kingdom had been
' full of adversities, as Wars, Pestilence, Famine, Murrain, whereby it was so much destroyed, that there
' was not the third part of the people left.' See Brady's Appendix to Hist. of Eng. Vol. II. N° 100. Archbishop Islip gives the same reasons for his founding Canterbury Hall in Oxford. See his Statutes in Wilkins's Conc. Mag. Brit. Vol. 3. p. 52.

his

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his worship, for the support and exaltation of the Christian Faith, and for the improvement of the liberal arts and sciences; hoping and trusting, that men of letters and various knowledge, and bred up in the fear of God, would see more clearly, and attend more strictly to the obligation lying upon them to observe the rules and directions, which he should give them. Wykeham seems to have come to this resolution, and in some measure to have formed in his mind his general Plan, as early as his becoming Bishop of Winchester: for we find ¹, that in little more than two years after, he had made purchases of several parcels of ground in the city of Oxford, which make the chief part of the site of his College there. His College of Winchester, intended as a nursery for that of Oxford, was part of his original plan: for as early as the year 1373, before he proceeded any farther in his design for the latter, he established a school at Winchester, of the same kind with the former, and for the same purpose. He

¹ Ant. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 128. where he gives a minute and particular account of these purchases.

agreed

agreed ^a with Richard de Herton, that for ten years, beginning from Michaelmas of the year above-mentioned, he should diligently instruct in Grammatical Learning as many poor scholars as the Bishop should send to him, and no others without his leave; that the Bishop should provide and allow him a proper assistant; and that Herton, in case of his own illness, or necessary absence, should substitute a proper Master to supply his place.

Wykeham's munificence proceeded always from a constant generous principle, a true spirit of liberality. It was not owing to a casual impulse, or a sudden emotion, but was the effect of mature deliberation and prudent choice. His enjoyment of riches consisted in employing them in acts of beneficence; and while they were increasing upon him, he was continually devising proper means of disposing of them for the good of the public: not delaying it till the time of his death, when he could keep them no longer; nor leaving to the care of others what he could better execute himself; but forming his good de-

^a See Appendix, N^o VII.

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signs early, and as soon as he had the ability, putting them in execution, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the beneficial effects of them; and that by constant observation and due experience he might from time to time improve and perfect them, so as to render them yet more beneficial.

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WILLIAM of WYKEHAM.

SECTION IV.

His troubles in the last year of Edward III.

WHILE Wykeham was pursuing these generous designs, and was now prepared to carry them into execution, he was on a sudden attacked by a party formed against him at court, in such a manner, as not only obliged him to lay them aside for the present, but might have reduced him to an inability of ever resuming them. The accounts which are
given

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given us of this whole affair by later writers, are either so false, so imperfect, or so confused, both as to matters of fact and their causes, that in order to clear it up, it will be necessary, wholly disregarding whatever they have advanced without sufficient proof, to lay together all the circumstances relating to it, of which there remains any undoubted testimony.

Upon the return of the Prince of Wales to England, on account of his declining state of health, in the year 1371, the Duke of Lancaster was sent into Aquitaine, and had the chief management of the war in France committed to him; which detained him there, for the most part, till the middle of the year 1374; when a truce being made, which was afterward prolonged from time to time, he returned, and took up his residence at the court of England. The King was now declining, and the Prince of Wales's case desperate: the Duke therefore, being the next surviving son of the King, looked upon himself as the person to whom the sole management of affairs in the present situa-

* T. Walsingham. Collins's Life of the Black Prince.

tion of right belonged. However, he seems not to have had influence enough with the King his father to gain his point, without the assistance of Alice Perrers, who now for some years had been considered as the King's Mistress, and had certainly gotten a very great ascendant over him. Taking this Lady into his party, and making use of her power, he² in effect got into his own hands the administration of all affairs: he assumed to himself a very extraordinary degree of authority, and abused it to many ill purposes. 'Tis certain, that both from his known ambitious temper, and his behaviour on this occasion, the whole nation suspected, that he carried his views farther than the present power, of which he had possessed himself; and had formed a design³ of setting aside his young nephew, and seizing the Crown, when the opportunity

² Walsingham, Parker, &c.

³ The Duke of Lancaster himself complained, in the first Parliament of Richard II. that the Commons had spread such reports of him, as, if true, amounted to open treason; "*& que telles paroles avoient longement volez parmi le Royaume fausement.*" Rot. Parl. R. 2. Tit. 14. The same opinion of the Duke of Lancaster's designs seems to have prevailed likewise in France. See Monach. Evesham. in Vita Rich. II. Edit. Hearn. p. 3. In MS. Harleian. N^o 6217, it is said, that the Duke

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tunity should offer, which now seemed near at hand.

The Prince of Wales, who knew perfectly well his brother's ambition, and could not but observe the advances which he made, was alarmed with apprehensions of the danger which threatened his son. He resolved therefore to use his utmost endeavours to obstruct the Duke of Lancaster's designs, to break the party which he had formed at court, and to get all that belonged to it removed from the King's person. The Parliament, which after two years intermission met in the latter end of April 1376, gave him a proper opportunity of effecting all that he proposed.

Duke of Lancaster proposed to the Parliament (51. Ed. 2.) to deliberate, who ought to succeed to the Crown after the late Prince of Wales's son; and that they should make a law, that no woman should be heir to the kingdom: (see also Parker. Antiq. Brit. Eccl. an. 1376.)

"For he confydered the old age of the kynge,—
"and the youth of the princes sonne; whom, as it
"was sayed, he purposed to poyson, yf he coulde no
"otherwyse come by the kyngdome." Chap. 8. Such accusations are commonly thrown out, and the public are but too ready to admit the truth of them, on the like occasions. However, these testimonies sufficiently prove, all that is intended to be proved by them; that the nation in general had conceived violent suspicions of the Duke of Lancaster's ill designs in regard to the Succession.

As * soon as the Parliament was opened, the Commons, having held a conference with the Lords, renewed for three years longer the subsidies granted in the last Parliament, which were now near the term of their expiration ; but desired to be excused making any farther grant, on account of the distresses of the times, unless any extraordinary case should happen, in which they would aid the King to the utmost of their ability. They then petition him, that he would be pleased to augment his Council to the number of ten or twelve of the chief Lords and Prelates, who should be continually near his person, so that, without the advice and consent of six, or at least four of them, no business should be concluded. To this request, under some restrictions, the King gave his assent : nine Lords and Prelates were appointed ; of which

* Rot. Parl. 50. Ed. III.

† In MS. Harleian. N° 247, fol. 143, is a fragment of some historical notes, the hand and age uncertain, perhaps about 200 years old. After having mentioned the complaints in Parliament against Lord Latimer, Alice Perrers, &c. the author proceeds, as follows :
 “ Anno 1376.—Divers of the nobilitie went to the
 “ King to perswade hym to remove them from his
 “ counsell ; which was done ac[cordingly,] and newe
 “ counsellors appointed : who were the archbyshop of
 “ Canter-

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which number was the Bishop of Winchester: the three great officers of state added, I suppose, to these, as usual, formed the council of twelve, of which historians speak.

The Commons moreover, making protestations of their due allegiance to the King, declared, that if he had had faithful Counsellors and Officers, he could not but have been exceeding rich in treasure, and would have been under no necessity of charging his people with subsidies; considering the great sums of money, that had
been

"Canterberye, the byshoppes of Londone and Wynechester, the earls of Arundell, Marche, and Stafford, and the lordes Percy, Brian, and Beauchampe. Who having auctoritie by the King put out of the counsell the lorde Latimer, Johne lorde Nevill, Sir Richarde Stafford, and dame Alice Perers, taking an othe of the king, that he sholde never more receiue them into] his companye." This passage is of importance, as it strongly confirms the account, which I had before given, of the political cause of the persecution raised against the Bishop of Winchester by the Duke of Lancaster. That this writer had good authority for the list which he gives of the Council appointed by petition of Parliament, cannot well be doubted. It appears also from hence, that Lord Percy, during this Parliament, was one of the Duke of Lancaster's opposers: he was soon after gained over to his interest; probably by means of the staff of marshal of England conferred upon him. This conjecture likewise I since find fully confirmed by MS. Harleian. N^o 6217. The

been brought into the kingdom, by the ransoms of the Kings of France and Scotland, and of other prisoners and countries. They demand therefore, that the frauds and extortions of certain private persons about the King, and others of their confederacy, may be strictly inquired into: of which they make a particular declaration under three heads. First, of such private persons about the King, and their confederates, as procured staple-ware and

thor says, " That the lorde Percy was one on the
 " knyghtes parte,—and at the fyrste had a burnyng
 " desyre to apprehend the traytours of the realme; and
 " and I wolde to God he had contynued in the sayme
 " unto the end." Chap. 4. And after having told,
 " how the earle of Marthe shunned the craftye de-
 " ceites of the Duke of Lancaster," by giving up his
 " marshalship; he adds, " The Duke, rejoyng that he
 " myght with some honour rewarde Syr Henrye Percy,
 " presently gave unto hym the rodd, and maid hym
 " marshall of England; and by this meanes yt ys
 " playne, that the sayed Syr Henrye Percy haith alwayes
 " joyned fast to the Duke, and hys counsell; where-
 " for notwithstandinge, he hath a longe tyme incurred
 " as great hatred of the whoale comunaltye, as he
 " hath gotten favour and love of the Duke, and that
 " whiche he beleaved was an inestimable profett and
 " commodytye and sholde be an infynyte glorie he
 " perceaved to be the begynnynge of all myscheyfe &
 " evill against hym, and sodenly to brynge hym perpe-
 " tual ignomynye; for he lost, as ys sayed, hys con-
 " scyence and hys good name with the people of the
 " whoale realme." Chap. 16.

bullion

bullion to be conveyed to other places than Calais, for their own profit, and to the great detriment of the King and Kingdom. Secondly, of such as by consent and contrivance of the said persons about the King, made agreement for divers sums of money for the King's use upon usury, making him pay much higher interest than they bargained for. Thirdly, of such as in confederacy with the same persons, bargained with the King's creditors for the tenth, twentieth, or hundredth penny, and then procured the King to pay the whole debt, for their own profit, and to the defrauding both of the King and of his creditors. Upon these and some other articles many persons were impeached and convicted: the principal of whom were the Lord Latimer, then Lord Chamberlain, who ⁶ had the greatest share of the Duke of Lancaster's friendship and confidence, and Alice Perrers. Latimer was imprisoned and fined, and rendered incapable of bearing any office under the King. Alice Perrers was banished from Court, and an ordinance made with particular respect to her,

⁶ Parker.

That

That no woman, especially Alice Perrers, should sollicite or prosecute any business in the King's Courts by way of maintenance, on pain of forfeiture and banishment out of the kingdom. And Historians ⁷ affirm, that the Duke of Lancaster himself was with the rest removed from about the King's person, in consequence of these remonstrances of Parliament; which were very well understood to be aimed at him, as they included his chief friends and dependents; though out of regard to his high quality, or dread of his power, no one ventured personally to attack him, or expressly to mention his name upon the occasion.

The whole management and conduct of this prosecution was undertaken, in the house of Commons, by Sir Peter de la Mare; and it was carried on by him, not only with great spirit and zeal, but with singular abilities and eloquence. He was a Knight of Herefordshire, and was ⁸ Steward to Edmund Mortimer Earl of March. The Earl of March had married Philippa, only

⁷ Walsingham, &c.
N^o 6217. Chap. 16.

⁸ Stow. MS. Harleian.

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child of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Lancaster's elder brother; and consequently his wife Philippa, or after her his eldest son by her, was indisputably next heir to the Crown after young Richard. His situation therefore in the present juncture was nearly the same with that of the Prince of Wales, and he was proportionably concerned to secure the rights of his own family against the suspected designs of the Duke of Lancaster. So that the chief end and principal aim of this prosecution, tho' not expressly declared in Parliament, yet could not but be sufficiently understood by the whole nation, from its being favoured by the Prince of Wales and his friends, and its being moved and conducted by a friend and dependent of the Earl of March. And the cause was so popular, and the severity, which the Parliament exercised against all of the Duke of Lancaster's party, so agreeable to the sense of the whole nation, that this Parliament was afterward distinguished by the name of the ' Good Parliament.

On the 8th of June, before the Parliament had finished its session, died the Prince

• Walsingham.

of

of Wales; one of the greatest heroes, and the most truly deserving of that name, that ever this, or any other nation produced; and what is more, the best and most amiable of men. He had always had¹ a great regard for the Bishop of Winchester, who was zealously attached to his service: and he now gave him an indubitable testimony of his esteem and affection, by appointing him one² of the executors of his Will. The Bishop received some years afterwards the same mark of confidence from his worthy consort the Princess Dowager of Wales, with particular expressions of the friendship and affectionate regard, which she bore towards him. The Prince of Wales's will was signed

¹ “Nec non revolventes oculos mentis nostræ—
 “ad magnum locum quem [idem Episcopus Wynton.]
 “præfato Domino & Patri nostro in suis agendis di-
 “versimode tenuit, & ad specialem affectionem & sin-
 “ceram dilectionem, quas idem pater noster erga præ-
 “fatum Episcopum gessit & habuit, dum ageret in
 “humanis.”—— Clause in the pardon granted to
 Wykeham by Richard II. Rymer, Fœd. Vol. 7th.
 p. 163.

² Regist. Sudbury. Fol. 91.

³ Regist. Courtney. Fol. 214. — “Venerabiles in
 “Christo patres & Amicos meos carissimos dominos
 “Robertum Consanguineum meum Dei gratia London.
 “& Wilhelmum eadem gratia Wynton. Episc. &c.”
 Dated Aug. 7th, 1385.

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only the day before he died ; from which circumstance we may conclude, that tho' the Prince had been long sensible that he was drawing near his end, yet he was not altogether in a dying condition, nor so far disabled, but that he could attend to the motions and proceeding of the Parliament, who in their opposition to the Duke of Lancaster and his party acted all along ⁺ in

⁺ Walsingham. An Author, who probably wrote before Walsingham, says likewise the same thing. He gives the following account of the transactions of this Parliament. " In principio mensis Maii fecit Rex Edwardus maximum Parliamentum apud Westmonast. celebrari, in quo more solito a communitate quoddam subsidium petiit sibi concedi pro defensione sui & regni. Et communitas respondit, cotidie eos fore talibus exactionibus aggravatos, nec tale onus diu posse ferre dicebant. Nam liquide eis constabat regem pro defensione regni & sui sufficienter habere, si regnum foret bene & fideliter gubernatum. Sed quamdiu tale regimen per malos officarios in regno haberetur, nequaquam copia rerum aut divitiis possit habundare. Hæc itaque & alia se offerebant certissime probaturos. Et si post probationem hujusmodi repertum esset Regem ulterius indigere, ipsum libenter juxta eorum facultates juvarent. Postea vero publicata fuerunt multa mala de Duce Lancastriæ & de diversis aliis officiariis regi jugiter assistentibus, & potissime de Domino de Latymer ipsius Camerario, super pessima gubernatione regis & regni. Tandem de quadam Alicia Peres inibi multum tractabatur super ejus maleficiis quæ per eam
" &

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in conjunction with him, and were supported by his credit and authority. Tho' the Prince lived not to see the conclusion of the Parliament, yet his friends sufficiently secured for him the point, which he had principally aimed at: for upon his death

“ & ejus fautores ubique in regno fiebant. Rex enim
 “ eam per multa tempora tenuerat concubinam, unde
 “ liberius potuisset, feminea fragilitate pensata, ad tam
 “ inania & nepharia declinare. Idcirco omnes tales
 “ regni communitas petiit amoveri, & viros nobiles ap-
 “ probatos sapientes & valentes loco eorum proinde
 “ subrogari. Erat namque inter illos, de communitate
 “ quidam miles sapiens verax & facundus nomine Pe-
 “ trus Delamare, in cujus ore omnium pendeat sen-
 “ tentia: hic vero quia contra dictam Aliciam & quos-
 “ dam alios de consilio Regis quædam enormia veraci-
 “ ter in publicum deduxisset, multum confidens in
 “ hac materia de supportatione & favore Domini Prin-
 “ cipis: sed eo cito post mortuo ad instantiam præfatæ
 “ mulieris apud Nottingham perpetuo carceri adjudica-
 “ tur.” Chronicon Angliæ ad Hen. IV. MS. Lambeth.
 N^o 340. “ And that tyme (says another antient writer)
 “ the comyns had chosen a wurthy Knight and a wise
 “ clepid Sir Peris Dalamare Speker of the Parlement for
 “ the comyns, which Peris told and publiſhid the trouth
 “ and reherſed many wronges ageynes the forſaid Alice
 “ and othir certeyne persones of the Kingis counſail as he
 “ was bedden by the comyns. And he ſuppoſid to have
 “ ben mayntened by the Prince.” Chronicle of England,
 to Hen. VI. MS. Lambeth, N^o 6. The Duke of Lancas-
 ter's friends represent to him, “ what helps the Knyghtes
 “ have to underſhore them; forthey have the favour and
 “ love of the lordes, and ſpecially of the lorde Edward
 “ prince

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death the Commons' immediately petitioned the King, that Richard of Bourdeaux, his son, might be brought into Parliament, that they might see and honour him as heir apparent of the Kingdom; and they farther petitioned, together with the Lords, that he might be declared Prince of Wales: with both which requests the King very readily complied.

The Parliament ⁶ was no sooner dismissed in the beginning of July, than all their vigorous proceedings and decrees against the delinquents fell to the ground, for want of that authority to support them, by which they had been hitherto carried on. The Duke of Lancaster, now no longer restrained by respect of the great Prince of Wales, or of the Parliament, returned immediately to court, and reassumed the administration of affairs: and with him returned the Lord Latimer, Alice Perrers,

" prince your brother, who gyveth them hys counsaile
" and aide effectuallye." MS. Harleian. N^o 6217.
Chap. 1. The same author says afterwards, " that the
" Duke, fearynge the majestye of the Prince, whom he
" knew to favour the people and knyghtes, with judi-
" ciall sentence depryved the lorde Latymer of hys
" office." Chap. 5.

³ Rot. Parl. 50. Ed. 3. tit. 40.

⁶ Walsingham, &c. MS. Harleian. N^o 6217.

and

and the rest, that had been for ever banished from the King's presence. They in a manner took possession again of the King, who lay at Eltham, oppressed at once with age, grief, and sickness, and utterly unable to withstand their importunity. They procured the council of twelve, which had been appointed by petition of the Commons in parliament, to be discharged. In a word, they saw themselves in a condition, not only to maintain their ground, but to wreak their vengeance on their enemies. They began with Sir Peter de la Mare, who had been the first mover and chief conductor of the petition and proceedings against them in the late parliament, and by an extraordinary act of power, got him committed prisoner to the castle of Nottingham. His patron the Earl of March was considered as the real author and promoter of every thing that he had done,

⁷ "Whom" (says the author of MS. Harleian. N^o 6217, Chap. 14.) "without any answeare against all justyce they sent to the castle of Newercke, there to be comytted to pryson: and there were that sayed, that the Duke gave commaundment to behead hym in the next wood; and so he sholde have bene, had not Syr Henrye Percye perswaded the Duke to the contrarye."

and

and soon received an intimation of the displeasure that was conceived against him. Orders^s were sent to him by the Duke of Lancaster, in the King's name, to go and survey the Castle, Town, and Marches of Calais. He saw that this commission was designed only to remove him out of the way, and perhaps to bring him into difficulties, of which advantage might be taken against him: he therefore declined the office, at the same time resigning his Staff of Marshal of England; which the Duke immediately conferred upon the Lord Percy. The Bishop of Winchester was another principal object of their resentment. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that upon this signal occasion he had stedfastly adhered to the interest of his great friend and patron the Prince of Wales; and at the same time to the interests of the King, his kind master and generous benefactor; and to the interests of the public; which were indeed all equally concerned in the security of the lineal succession: and most probably he had acted with so open and unreserved a zeal in this just and important cause, as could

^s Stow. MS. Harleian. N^o 6217. Chap. 16.

not but give offence to the Duke of Lancaster. The Duke was, in effect, most highly incensed against him, and determined to make him feel the whole weight of his resentment, and the full force of his power. However, he could not attempt to oppress a Prelate in an arbitrary way, and without any colour of law, as he had acted with regard to Sir Peter de la Mare: he therefore procured articles of accusation to be brought against the Bishop, by * certain persons whose names are not transmitted down to us, for divers crimes committed by him during his administration of affairs: these were exhibited against him about the beginning of the next Michaelmas term; and are in substance as follows *.

1. That after the peace was made with France, the Bishop of Winchester had the disposal and management of all the King's revenues, both at home and beyond sea, with all the subsidies granted by Parliament, and the sums received for the ransoms of the King of France, of the country

* "Cum — Episcop. Wynton. ex informatione quorundam impositi fuissent articuli subsequentes," — Rymer, Fœd. Vol. 7th. p. 163 & 168.

* Ibid. p. 132, 148, 163, 168.

* Ibid. p. 163, &c.

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of Burgundy, and of the King of Scotland : which receipts, reckoning for eight years, during the whole time that Simon Langham late Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Barnet Bishop of Ely, were treasurers of England, (namely, from the 26th day of November 1361, to the year 1369) amount to 1,109,600 l. sterling ; besides 100,000 francs received from Galeazzo Duke of Milan, and all the King's goods ; which for the most part have not been applied to the profit of the King and Kingdom. And when the peace had lasted ten years, and the second war began, the King's treasury was found almost empty, and the King in great streights was forced to burthen his subjects with subsidies and loans : and all this was owing to the bad management of the said Bishop.

2. That the said Bishop, without regard to God, or equity, or the laws of the realm, caused Matthew de Gourney, Thomas Fog, John Seyntlowe, Degory Lees, Robert D'Eues, and many others, who in the King's wars had behaved well against the enemy, to be fined and ransomed, to the inestimable damage of the King and Kingdom, in that all the soldiers, when

they heard of this misprision, entered into companies, and made war in France, which occasioned the renewing of the war, and other bad consequences.

3. That the said Bishop being Keeper of the Privy Seal, Chief of the Privy Council, and Governor of the Great Council, caused the hostages of the King of France, and particularly the Dukes of Orleans, Berry, Anjou, and Bourbon, and many others, to be released and set at liberty, for his own profit; tho' the late Prince of Wales had often written, both to the King and to the said Bishop, to have them kept carefully and securely; which if it had been done, the war would not have happened.

4. That when the Governors of Ponthieu had given timely notice of the necessity of sending succours into that country to prevent the loss of it, the said Bishop put off the messengers with words, and took no care about it; so that by his negligence, in not ordering a proper remedy, that country was lost.

5. That in the year 1369, John the son of John Boulewas, having been guilty of acquiring lands without licence, was fined in 100 l. to the King for his pardon: and
the

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the said Bishop caused the fine to be lessened by 20 l. as appears by the memorandum of its enrollment.

6. That it having appeared by an inquisition, that John de Kirketon had intruded himself into the castle of Tateshale, the manor of Tomby, and other lands, of which John de Dryby died possessed, and had held the said castle and lands for so long time, that the rents and profits of them amounted to above 8,000 marks, which ought to have been placed to the King's account, as the said castle was held of him in chief; the said Bishop caused the King to remit all the said rents and profits, for his own private advantage, without taking or receiving any thing on that account from the said John de Kirketon for the King's benefit.

7. That when John de Barnet Bishop of Ely was treasurer of England, the said Bishop of Winchester, by his own authority, and without warrant, caused to be taken out of the King's treasury the sum of 10,000 marks for buying of the King's Tallies, as he affirmed; which sum remained in his hands two years and more, and then he returned into the treasury for the said

sum, tallies amounting to 12,500 marks, or thereabouts; which advantage of 2,500 marks did not answer to the King, as he bought every 100 l. for 25 l. so that the increase and profit to the King ought to have been 27,000 marks.

8. That the said Bishop, when he was Chancellor, by his own authority, often caused fines, after they were enrolled, to be lessened, and the rolls to be rased; and in particular, that of John Grey of Retherfeld, who made a fine with the King, in the 41st year of his reign, of 80 l. for licence of feoffment of certain lands and tenements; which was paid into the hanaper: but the said Bishop, on pretence of some bargain between him and the said John Grey, caused the first writing to be cancelled, by making another writing of the same tenor and date, for a fine of 40 l. and made the Clerk of the hanaper repay the other 40 l. to the said John Grey, to the defrauding of the King.

It is not to be expected, that at this time much new light should be thrown on many of the particulars of these articles: how-

³ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 168.

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ever, a few observations may serve, in a good measure, to explain, and shew the design and force of the most important of them.

1. The first article is, in effect, the very same that was contained in the declaration of the Commons in the last Parliament, and was directed against the Duke of Lancaster and his party. The particular abuses were then inquired into, and several of that party impeached and convicted, to the general satisfaction of the nation. The same party, now in power again, transfer the charge, in general terms, from themselves to the Bishop of Winchester.

Besides the unreasonableness of charging him with the gross sum of the whole public revenue of the King and Kingdom for so many years, and even for some time before he had borne any office in the state; it appears from the article itself, that Wykeham was not properly the person responsible for it. He never was Treasurer of England, tho' it has been affirmed by so many authors. Langham and Barnet, successively treasurers during the time in question, were not creatures of his, nor in any wise dependent upon him; but per-

sons of great age and authority before he came into any power at court; nor is it likely, that they should absolutely and implicitly submit themselves to him, in the execution of so important an office, for which they themselves were solely accountable. And Barnet was still living to answer for himself. Neither is it at all to be wondered, that by an expensive and ruinous foreign war of above twenty years continuance, the nation was so exhausted, and the King so overwhelmed with debt, as not to be able to recover themselves in an unsettled and imperfect peace of nine years; for it was no more, even the war of Brittany, and the Prince of Wales's expedition into Spain, being reckoned as nothing in the account.

2. It is hard to say what is the crime with which the Bishop is charged in the second article: nothing more appears from it, than that he had either by his influence, or in the regular course of his office, caused the persons therein mentioned to be punished and fined; not surely for their good behaviour and services in the wars, but, as we may well be allowed to suppose, for some misdemeanour. It is granted, that

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that these gentlemen behaved well in the wars; but did they behave as well in time of truce or peace? Of the first of them, Sir Matthew Gourney, it appears¹; that, contrary to the express command of the King his master, he followed Bertrand de Guesclin into Spain, in the service of Henry the Bastard, in the year 1366; and of the second, Sir Thomas Fog, that² during the truce of Bourdeaux, he made an expedition under the command of the famous Sir Robert Knolles, who was at this time no other than an arrant freebooter. Knolles was actually outlawed upon this occasion: after the truce was expired, he procured³ indeed the King's pardon, but not without great submissions to his Majesty, and presents sent to the Prince of Wales and his brothers. Fog must have been in the same situation; and so came under the description, which the King in his answer to the remonstrances of the court of France gave

¹ Barnes, Hist. of Ed. 3d. p. 675. See Rym. Fœd. Vol. 6. p. 481.

² See Barnes, p. 562. Hollingshed, Vol. 3. p. 391. Walsingham, Hyp. Neustria, ad an. 1358. Caxton, Appendix. Polychron. p. 317.

³ Knighton. Col. 2620.

of these adventurers, * that they were persons outlawed, murderers and robbers, delinquents against the laws of his realm, and out of his protection. Such were two of these Gentlemen: and if we consider, how common these practices were at this time, and what numbers of disbanded officers pursued the same methods of making their fortunes, it will not appear improbable, that the others here mentioned were offenders in the same way, and were deservedly punished for their lawless behaviour. But whatever their case was, it is not easy to see how their punishment, as is alledged in the article, could be the occasion of the souldiers entering into the Companies, and the cause of the war's being renewed: nor is it possible to conceive, how either of these events could, in any way, even indirectly and by consequence, be charged on the Bishop of Winchester. Indeed nothing can be more certain and notorious, than that both the rising of the companies in France, and the renewing of the war, were owing to far other causes, and such as could not have any relation to him, or be within the

* Ibid. Col. 2618.

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reach of his influence. The ¹ rising of the companies is to be dated as early as the truce of Bourdeaux in the year 1357. A few parties of this kind then formed themselves, and made some essays in their trade. But after the peace of Bretigny, they soon grew into regular bodies of men, and even formidable armies. They were made up of disbanded souldiers of different nations, and were prompted by no other motive, than their own lawless desires of enriching themselves by plunder and rapine. They maintained themselves a long time by ravaging the whole country, and the only effectual method, that France could take of getting rid of them, was to find them employment elsewhere. The Prince of Wales at last took twelve thousand of them into his service for his Spanish expedition. Don Pedro was no sooner restored by him to the throne of Castile, than he forgot all his engagements, and left him and his army in the utmost distress, without money or provisions. The Prince was forced to melt down all his plate to supply his immediate occasions. Six thousand men of the com-

¹ Froissart, Vol. I. chap. 214, 215, 244, 246. Walsingham, &c.

panies

panies returned with him to Guienne, where, for want of pay, they betook themselves to their old way of subsisting on plunder. The Prince had influence enough over them, to prevail with them to quit his dominions; upon which they fell upon the neighbouring provinces of France. Great arrears were likewise due to his other troops, which obliged him to impose new taxes on his subjects of Guienne, which occasioned their revolt. Such was the occasion of the last rising of the companies; and such was the immediate cause of the renewing of the war with France.

3. The third article is wholly founded on the Duke of Bourbon's application to the Pope on Wykeham's behalf, an account of which has been already given. As to the rest of the Hostages, the reader may find an exact account of their release, collected by Rapin from the Records published by Rymer, in which it does not appear that Wykeham had the least concern. As⁶ to those here mentioned in particular, the Duke of Orleans obtained his liberty by ceding certain lands in Poitou to Thomas

⁶ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 6. p. 467. Froissart, Vol. 1. chap. 218 and 249.

of Woodstock, one of the King's sons. The Dukes of Anjou and Berry basely abused the King's generosity and indulgence; the first made his escape from Calais, and the other, having obtained leave of absence for one year, never returned; nor did they ever make the least satisfaction for this infamous breach of their oath and honour.

4. The ⁷ surprising of Ponthieu by the French was an event quite unexpected by Edward III. The first intimation, which he had of their design, was given him while the King of France's Ambassadors were amusing him with deceitful presents and empty proposals. He immediately ordered the Lords Percy and Nevil, and Sir William Wyndesore, to go thither with all expedition, with three hundred men at arms and one thousand archers. They had gotten as far as Dover, and were ready to embark; when news came, that the French had taken the City of Abbeville, as was determined before by private agreement between them and the inhabitants, who opened their gates to them. The same day they made themselves masters of the

⁷ Froissart, Vol. i. chap. 251, 252. Walsingham. Barnes, p. 737, &c.

rest of the towns of Ponthieu, and so the whole country was lost at once. The whole circumstances of this affair put it beyond all doubt, that there was really no neglect in sending succours to Ponthieu, upon the first notice of the designs of the French, chargeable upon any one, much less upon the Bishop of Winchester.

5, and 6. These seem to be nothing more than common instances of the King's generosity, perverted into articles of accusation against the Bishop, and are in themselves of no great importance.

7. The seventh article may perhaps require some explanation. These Tallies were receipts or securities given to the King's Creditors for Sums of money borrowed. The treasury was so exhausted by the wars, and the King's credit so low, that the Creditors at last sold their Tallies, or securities for the sums owed to them, at great discount. The Bishop is charged with having bought up the King's debts with the King's money, and for his profit, at a discount of 75 per cent. or for one fourth; and with not having returned the whole profit to the treasury. As to the fact itself, and the circumstances of it, nothing

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thing can now be said ; but this charge plainly appears to have been designed as a recrimination upon the Bishop, with respect to the third article of inquiry, exhibited by the Commons in the late Parliament.

8 Whether this last article was at first exhibited against Wykeham, together with the foregoing, or was produced afterward, when the former were found deficient in proof, it does not appear. The foregoing articles * and this are found separate the one from the other, and in two distinct patents of pardon : the first containing a remission and full acquittal of the seven first articles, of which no proof had ever been made, and upon which no judgement was ever given against him ; the second reciting the last article only, upon which solely and separately judgement had been given, that his temporalities should be seized into the hands of the King, and remitting all the penalties and the consequences of this judgement. This, however, we may with certainty conclude, that the first seven articles were dropped, and came

* See Rym. Fæd. Vol. 7. p. 163 and 168.

to nothing, as unsupported by any proof or evidence. His temporalities were adjudged to be seized into the King's hands, solely upon the charge contained in the last Article. So that this mighty accusation, which set out with a charge of above a million, soon dwindled into a business of forty pounds. Upon which article I shall only observe, that the whole transaction seems to have been carried on openly, and without any endeavour to keep it a secret; that the Chancellor is not charged with having made any profit to himself from it, the whole sum refunded having been paid to the Lord Grey; and that all that appears to be exceptionable in his conduct is the seeming irregularity of the proceeding, of which, we may presume, his enemies took their advantage.

The Bishop of Winchester⁹ was heard upon these articles before a certain number of Bishops and Lords, and others of the Privy Council, assigned by the King for this purpose, about the middle of November. And in consequence of the judgement given by them upon the last ar-

⁹ See Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 132, 148.

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ticle alone, as I have just now mentioned, Writs ¹ were issued from the Exchequer, dated the 17th of the same month, to the Sheriffs of the several counties concerned, ordering them to seize into the King's hands the Temporalities of the Bishoprick of Winchester. The Bishop ² was ordered to attend again at Westminster, for a farther examination on January the 20th following: but this was afterwards prorogued to an uncertain day, at the King's pleasure; nor was he ever after brought to a hearing on this occasion.

The seizing the Temporalities was no uncommon mark of the King's displeasure, in cases where a prelate had offended him, tho' he was not regularly convicted of any crime or misdemeanour. Nothing more, perhaps, was meant in the present case, by the determination of the Lords of the Council. To mortify the Bishop still farther, he ³ was forbidden, in the King's name, to come within twenty miles

¹ MS. Rym. R. 2. Vol. 1. N^o 22. from Rot. Claus.

1. R. 2. pars unica. M. 20.

² See Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 132.

³ Parker, &c. By the Duke of Lancaster in the King's name; says the author of MS. Harleian, N^o 6217. Chap. 15.

of the Court. It may be questioned,⁴ whether the King had any knowledge of this prohibition in which his name was made use of; however, all agree that the Duke of Lancaster was the real author of it.

The Bishop received this prohibition about the middle of December, and upon it immediately left⁵ his palace at Southwark. He⁶ retired to the Monastery of Merton, where, for the most part, he continued during the next month; and afterwards he passed some time in the Abby of Waverly near Farnham. I find⁷ indeed that he was at Southwark again on the 4th of January, but he made no stay there at all. Possibly he might have leave to go thither, in order to make some necessary preparation for his defence at his second hearing: for it was not till three or four days after this, that he received the King's

⁴ This doubt seems to be insinuated by the Convocation in their petition in behalf of the Bishop of Winchester; "*Defenduz lui feust, come depar notre Seigneur le Roy, len luy disoit,*"—the whole of which see below.

⁵ Some time between the 11th and 19th of December. Regist. Wykeham.

⁶ Regist. Wykeham.

⁷ Ibid. part 1. fol. 80.

letters,

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letters, by which it was prorogued to a farther day.

In this situation were the Bishop of Winchester's affairs, when the Parliament was opened on the 27th of January. His great adversary the Duke of Lancaster had re-established his power at court beyond all opposition, and had so effectually exerted it in protecting his friends and oppressing his enemies, that the Parliament, desirous of gaining his favour, or afraid of incurring his displeasure, met in general ready to comply with him in all his measures, and prepared to act as he should direct them. The whole proceedings therefore of this Parliament tended ⁸ to reverse and disannul all that had been done in opposition to the Duke and his party in the last. It is affirmed, ⁹ that the Duke of Lancaster had procured the members of this Parliament to be elected at his pleasure, and almost all those, that had opposed him in the last Parliament, to be excluded: that Sir Thomas Hungerford, chosen Speaker of this Parliament, and the first upon record in that office, was an inti-

⁸ Walsingham. Chap. 19. ⁹ Stow. & MS. Harleian. N^o 6217.

mate friend of the Duke's, and his Steward: that a few of Sir Peter de la Mare's friends, who, notwithstanding the Duke of Lancaster's influence exerted against them, were returned to this Parliament, used their utmost endeavours, that he might be allowed to give his answer to the matters laid to his charge, but could not prevail: and that when one of them in particular still urged this motion, he was silenced with threats, that it might cost him his life, if he persisted in it.

The Commons¹ having granted the subsidies, petitioned the King, that in consideration of the year of his Jubilee, the Fiftieth of his reign just now completed, he would be graciously pleased to grant an act of general pardon to his subjects of all crimes committed before the beginning of the said year, as he had done at the Fiftieth year of his age. To this petition the King gave his consent. The only person excepted out of this general pardon was the Bishop of Winchester, in the following words of the Statute: "But always it is the Kynge's
" mind, that Sir² William Wykeham By-
" shop

¹ Rot. Parl. 51. Ed. III.

² A common title given formerly to Clergymen of all

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“shop of Wyncheſter ſhall nothing enjoye
“of the ſaid graces, graunts, and pardons,
“nor in no wiſe be comprised within the
“ſame³.”

The Duke of Lancaſter having procured the Biſhop of Wincheſter to be particularly excepted out of the Act of Grace, was no leſs careful to ſecure his friends, who had been condemned in the laſt Parliament, by particular acts of pardon granted to each by the King upon petitions of the Commons. The Lord Latimer’s pardon
he

all degrees. See Rym. Fœd. Vol. 6. p. 86. and the *Dramatis Perſonæ* of many of Shakeſpeare’s plays. ’Tis in the Original Record Sire Willm. de Wykeham. Rot. Parl. 51. Ed. 3. tit. 24.

³ Statute 51. Ed. 3. intituled by miſtake in all the printed Statute Books 50 Ed. 3. As this miſtake is the principal cauſe of the great confuſion, that runs through all the accounts of this part of Wykeham’s Hiſtory, ’tis neceſſary to clear it up beyond all doubt. The act of general pardon, granted on occaſion of Edward the 3d’s Jubilee, was made in the laſt Parliament of his reign, held at Weſtmiſter, Quinden. Hillarii, that is, Jan. 27th, in which Richard Prince of Wales ſat in the King’s place by commiſſion, the King being ill. See Cotton’s Abridg. p. 144, 146, 152. The 51ſt of Ed. 3. began Jan. 24th (Rym. Fœd. Vol. 4. p. 243.) three days before the meeting of the Parliament; which therefore is rightly intituled 51 Ed. 3. in the Parliament Rolls, and by all the Hiſtorians. But the 50th year of his reign was really the year which the King called his Jubilee, and

he had before obtained of the King, yet thought it proper to have it renewed in this more solemn manner in Parliament, In the like manner Alice Perrers, Richard Lyons, and some others to the number of

the late Parliament mentioned it as such. See Cotton, Abridg. p. 129. The reason why they did not then petition for a general pardon, was because it was not agreeable to the severity of their proceedings: it suited entirely with the designs of the next Parliament, who under the influence of the Duke of Lancaster, made it their business to reverse all the judgements passed on the delinquents in the preceding Parliament. The act of general pardon itself mentions the 50th year of the King's reign as the occasion of its being granted; and in the preamble it is said, "Forasmuch as this year" is rightfully the year of his Jubilee;"—which inaccuracy of expression was the cause of the mistake in the title. The same inaccuracy may be observed in a Record in Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 136. where the King speaks of the pardon granted in an. regni 50^{mo}, and afterwards dates it, in præsentis nostri Jubilæo. 15 Feb. an. reg. 51. But in another Record of the same date (ibid.) he says more accurately, that the pardon was granted "nuper dum regiminis reg. nostri Angliæ annus completus esset 50^{mus}:" and the Chancellor, in his speech, opening the Parliament, "ce est l'an. 50 de son regne accompli, qu'est l'an Jubilee."—Rot. Parl. 51. Ed. 3.; and in Wykeham's pardon 1. R. 2. it is said, that he was excepted out of the general pardon granted in the last Parliament of Edward the 3d. This mistake in the date of the printed Statute has misled the Historians, who accordingly refer it to the year before: and hence it is, that they make Wykeham's troubles to have lasted two years; whereas really the whole affair was but of little more than seven months continuance.

seven,

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seven, were by the King, upon so many petitions of the Commons, restored to their former estates, and the judgements given against them in the last Parliament were reversed, as having been obtained by false suggestions, and without due process. While on the other hand the Bishop of Winchester, without due process, before he had been allowed a full hearing, or any thing, as far as appears, had been proved against him, was deprived of his Temporalities, and excluded from Parliament.

Tho' the Bishop had received ³ no writ of summons to Parliament from the King, yet he was ⁴ regularly summoned to Convocation, by the Archbishop of Canterbury's mandate, executed by the Bishop of London. The Clergy met in Convocation on the 3d of February. As soon ⁵ as the King's message was delivered to the house, setting forth the necessity of his affairs, and desiring a suitable subsidy, William Courtney Bishop of London stood up, and made a grievous complaint of many injuries done to himself and the Bishop of Winchester,

³ There is none in Regist. Wykeham.

⁴ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b fol. 3.

⁵ Parker, Wharton de Episcopis London. p. 137.

of which he exhibited to the house a particular account in writing; and begged them not to consent to any subsidy, till satisfaction should be made to the parties injured. The whole house, in a manner, seconded the Bishop of London's motion, as far as it regarded the Bishop of Winchester; and ⁶ addressing themselves to the Archbishop of Canterbury as their head, declared, that they looked upon the proceedings against the Bishop of Winchester as an injury done to the whole body of the Clergy, and an infringement of the liberties of the Church; that they would in no wise enter upon the business proposed to them, till all the members of the Clergy were united; that as it concerned all, it ought to be approved of all. The Archbishop, being of the Duke of Lancaster's party, or afraid of offending him, would have declined meddling with their suit: but they persisted so firmly in their resolution, that he ⁷ was obliged to prorogue the Convocation, and wait upon the King with a representation of their grie-

⁶ Elfyng's Method of holding Parliaments, chap. 7; Stow. MS. Harleian. N^o 6217. Chap. 21.

⁷ Parker.

vances. The King took time to consider more particularly of their petitions, and dismissed the Archbishop with a promise in general terms, that all the matters complained of should be redressed.

Among these petitions of the Convocation, that which relates to the Bishop of Winchester is expressed in the following terms^s:

“ As to what concerns the Bishop of
 “ Winchester, that the things under-
 “ written, which are attempted against
 “ him, may be duly redressed. In the
 “ first place, that the Temporalities of his
 “ Church, without sufficient consent and
 “ assent of those to whom it pertaineth,
 “ and whose assent is required in this be-
 “ half, have been taken into the hands of
 “ the King: and moreover, besides that
 “ he hath no where to lay his head in
 “ the temporal manors of his Church, he
 “ hath been forbidden, as by command
 “ of our Lord the King, so he was in-
 “ formed, to make his abode in several
 “ monasteries, priories, and other places

^s Rot. Parl. 51. Ed. 3. tit. 85. and Wilkins, Concilia Mag. Brit. Vol. III. p. 104.

“ of

“ of his diocese, foundation, and patron-
 “ age: by which causes the said Bishop
 “ suffereth great grievances, the jurisdic-
 “ tion of Holy Church is infringed, and
 “ the execution of his pastoral office in
 “ divers manners interrupted.”

This petition is the only one to which the King, after having considered of them, did not vouchsafe to give any answer. However the ⁹ Convocation maintained their resolution with such steadiness, that the Archbishop could get nothing done in the King's business, without sending for the Bishop of Winchester. He returned to Southwark on this occasion ¹, about the middle of February. He took his place in Convocation, and ² was received by the whole assembly with all possible marks of respect and reverence.

⁹ Parker, Elfyng. *ibid.*

⁸ Between the 14th and 18th. Regist. Wykeham. And it appears that he was present at granting the subsidy, *ibid.* part 3. b. fol. 6.

⁷ Parker. “ He came to London with a small number of servants, who before tyme was thought to excell all other in multitude of servants. He was joyfully receaved of hys felowe Byshopps, & as became such a person, greatly honored.” MS. Harleian. N^o 6217. Chap. 21.

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The session of Parliament ended on February the 23d, and ³ that of Convocation about a week after. The Bishop of Winchester still continued ⁴ at Southwark, tho' the late remonstrances of the Clergy seem to have had but little effect in bringing his affairs nearer to an accommodation with the court. The King, instead of restoring his Temporalities, soon ⁵ after made a grant of them to his Grandson Richard, in part of payment of four thousand marks a year, which he had settled on him at the time of his creating him Prince of Wales, and declaring him heir apparent of the Crown. This ⁶ was supposed to have been done by the Duke of Lancaster, with a design to take off something of the odiousness of his proceedings against the Bishop, and to make himself a little more popular in the nation, by this instance of good will towards the young Prince.

Some time after this an affair happened, which serves to discover to us, what were the

³ Wake's State of the Church, p. 304.

⁴ Regist. Wykeham.

⁵ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 142. This grant is dated
15 Martii, 1376-7.

⁶ Parker, Stow. MS. Harleian. N^o 6217. Chap. 15,

general

general sentiments of the people with regard to the Bishop of Winchester and his case. The⁷ Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, being commissioned by the Pope to proceed against Wickliff, whose opinions began now to prevail, cited him to appear before them in the Church of St. Paul London, and to answer to the articles of heresy laid to his charge. Wickliff appeared, accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster and his friend the Lord Percy, who had undertaken his protection, chiefly in opposition to the Bishops and Clergy. A prodigious concourse of people was gathered together to hear his examination: but this was prevented by a quarrel which arose between the two Lords and the Bishop of London. The Duke of Lancaster at last using some threatening expressions to the Bishop, the people were so

⁷ Walsingham, Stow, Fox, &c. Fox, and the rest of the Historians who follow him, are mistaken, in making this affair happen in February, and while the Parliament was sitting. The Pope's Bulle to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London is dated the 22d of May, 1377. Wilkins's Concilia, Vol. 3. p. 116. So that it could not have happened many days before the death of Edward III.—The author of MS. Harleian. N^o 6217, says with the rest, that it was on the 22d of February.

exceed-

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exceedingly offended and enraged against him, that he found it necessary to make his retreat as soon as he could, with Lord Percy and Wickliff. Upon a surmise, that the Duke designed to make some attempt upon the liberties of the City of London, the people assembled together again afterwards in great multitudes: they assaulted the Duke's palace of the Savoy, they used his name with all sorts of indignities, and hung up his arms reversed, as a traitor's, in the principal streets of the city. 'Twas supposed, that they would have murdered the Duke if they had met with him; and they would certainly have set fire to his palace, had it not been for the Bishop of London, who came thither on purpose to appease them. The Duke himself, as soon as the news of the riot was brought to him, as he was at dinner with a particular friend of his, a merchant in the city, immediately fled for his safety to the Princess of Wales, who was then at Kennington with her son Richard. The Princess, upon this, sent three Gentlemen of her court to persuade the people, in her name, to desist from their violent proceedings. They returned answer to her, that out of the respect which
they

they bore to her Highness, they would do whatsoever she commanded; but, at the same time, required the messengers to demand of the Duke of Lancaster, that he would suffer the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Peter de la Mare to be brought to their answer, and be judged by their peers, according to the laws of England.

From this incident we may conclude, that the people looked upon the Bishop of Winchester, as a person unjustly oppressed by the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lancaster^a; not in the odious light of a wicked minister of state, deservedly called

^a " Circa idem tempus Dux Lancastriæ persecutus est graviter Episcopum Wynton. dicens eum falsum fuisse patri suo dum esset ejus Cancellarius, unde nimis rigore immo & injuste magna summa pecuniæ condempnatus erat Domino Regi." Continuator Polychronici. MS. Lambeth. N^o 104. " The Duke labored against William Wykam byshopp of Wynchester, sekynge a knott in a rushe, & talkyng all occasion by all wayes and meanes he possibly colde to indamage hym: at last amongst other thyngs that he had objected against hym, he charged hym to have bene falsse unto the Kynge, att what tyme he was lorde chaunceler: & althoughe the byshopp in declaration of hys innocencye was ready to brynge furth for hym selffe both sufficient reasons & wytnesses, yet notwithstandinge he caused hym to be condemned without makynge answeare." MS. Harleian. N^o 6217. Chap. 15.

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to account for a corrupt administration. He had been appointed one of the Council by petition of Parliament, when the Duke of Lancaster's friends were removed, on the motion of Sir Peter de la Mare: his cause was united with that of Sir Peter de la Mare in the favour and attention of the people: the Duke of Lancaster's indignation fell upon both of them at the same time; he continued to persecute and oppress them together; and they were both at the same time released from his oppression. The cause of offence, therefore, was, in all probability, the same in both: namely, their zeal for the public good, and their steady adherence to the Prince of Wales's interest in the parliament of 1376, in opposition to the Duke of Lancaster's party and his suspected designs. This is the only reasonable method of accounting for the Duke's resentment, that can be collected from the circumstances of the whole affair. The?
old

“ Hoc anno circa idem tempus dictus Dux Lan-
 “ castrie contra Episcopum Winton. vehementer com-
 “ motus ipsum prosequi totis viribus conabatur, eo
 “ quod, sicut dicebatur, Domino Regi Patri illius
 “ suggessit, quod Regina quondam uxor ipsius dictum
 “ Ducem in utero suo nunquam portavit, sed supposuit
 “ eum

old story of Wykeham's alledging, upon the confession and according to the directions of Queen Philippa, that the Duke of Lancaster was a supposititious child, and not her's and the King's son, which has been so often told to this purpose, is in all parts of it so very incredible, that it deserves little more notice, than to observe only; that the author, whoever he was, who first gave out this story, seems to have been convinced,

“ eum pro filio; quod ob timorem Regis celavit, sed
 “ ante mortem suam, ut idem Episcopus ut dicitur de-
 “ buit asseruisse, [leg. asseruisse dicitur, ut debuit,]
 “ sibi fatebatur, & ei injunxit, quod [ut] hoc domino
 “ suo cum videret opportunum, monstraret, [mandaret]
 “ propter quod idem Dux, fingens colorem eum pro-
 “ tequendi, imposuit sibi, quod fuit falsus patri suo
 “ modis diversis, quando ipsius extitit Cancellarius;
 “ unde erat regi in magna summa pecuniæ condemp-
 “ natus, pro qua condemnatione in manus regis om-
 “ nia ejus temporalia erant capta, nec sibi ante mortem
 “ regis fuerant restituta: & licet totus Clerus & tota
 “ Communitas preces funderent pro eisdem, non ta-
 “ men fuerunt exauditi.” J. Malverne continuatio Chro-
 nici Ranulphi. MS. Coll. Corp. Christ. Cantab. ad an.
 1376.

The same story is quoted in the same words, except the various readings above inserted, by Wharton. Ang. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 318. as from the Monk of Evesham, a continuator of the Polychronicon. J. Malverne and the Monk of Evesham are then the same persons, or one of them copied the other. I think the first most probable, from Malverne's giving a long and particular ac-
 count

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vinced, that the Bishop of Winchester, in some way or other, opposed the Duke of Lancaster's designs upon the Crown, and to have furnished the circumstances, either from his own invention, or from some idle report, which, how ridiculous soever, might yet possibly have gained some belief among the ignorant and credulous vulgar.

Nothing

count of the troubles brought upon the Abby of Evesham by the Earl of Warwick's tenants. Fox quotes for it, Chron. Monasterii D. Albani, or Hist. Monachi D. Albani, ex accommodato D. Matth. A. Ep. Cant. However, this MS. of J. Malverne is the only one among A. Bp. Parker's in Bennet Coll. Library, which contains the particulars which Fox relates as from the Chron. Albani; and the title of the MS. is in a later hand than the MS. itself; as I am informed by a learned friend, who favoured me with the extracts from it. Perhaps the present Title may have been added since Fox made use of it. As to the story itself, it is to be observed, that the Duke of Lancaster was the seventh child of Edward III by Queen Phillippa, the fourth son; of whom only the second son and the third daughter died in their infancy. This is sufficient to destroy the whole foundation of this story: for, can we suppose, that in these circumstances, the King could be very desirous of another son, or the Queen under any temptation to impose one upon him? Fox and others after him, without any warrant from their author, have related it as an invention and a mere slander of Wykeham's. Taking it in this light, can we possibly suppose, that Wykeham, tho' he were wicked enough, yet could be so weak, as in so delicate a business, and to his extreme hazard, to invent and utter so incredible and so absurd a story? But, that no such story was, at

L
that

Nothing more was done in the Bishop of Winchester's affair till the 18th of June following, when the ¹ King restored to him his Temporalties, in consideration of his having undertaken, in the presence of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lancaster, and others of the Privy Council, certain burthens in relief of the King, and for the defence of his kingdom: namely, he was to fit out upon the sea three ships of war, in each ship fifty men at arms, and fifty archers, for one quarter of a year, at such wages as were usually paid by the King, but the King was to pay the wages of the mariners: and in case such voyage should not take place, he was to pay to the King the sum to which the wages of the said three hundred men by reasonable computation should amount. His sponsors

that time, uttered or invented, is still farther probable, from the Duke of Lancaster's silence with regard to it: when he made his complaint in Parliament of the reports, that had been spread concerning him, imputing to him treasonable designs, he said not a word relating to any such report as this, tho' more manifestly injurious to him, and more highly provoking, and as much of national concern as the others.—The same story is told in MS. Harleian. N^o 6217, Chap. 15.

¹ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 148, 149, 168. and MS. Rym. R. 2. Vol. 1. N^o 22.

for

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for the due performance of these articles, were Edmund de Mortimer Earl of March, Richard Earl of Arundell, and Thomas de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, then present in Council. These were three of the most considerable Lords in the kingdom; and 'tis highly probable, that it was by their powerful intercession, that the Bishop obtained the restitution of his Temporalities. It has been said, that he procured this grant, by purchasing Alice Perrers's good offices with the King in his favour, by a large sum of money in hand, and larger promises of future services; and that she gained this point for him, very much against the inclinations of her friend the Duke of Lancaster.* This has been advanced without any other foundation of proof, or colour of probability, than the supposed influence of this Lady with the King, by some late writers, at a time when, as it could not possibly be verified, so neither could it easily be confuted.

* MS. Harleian. N^o 6217, Chap. 28, contains the very same account. Of the age of this author, and consequently of the credit due to him with regard to such a piece of secret history, I cannot pretend to give any positive judgement.

On the 21st of June, 1377, died Edward III. And thus the Bishop of Winchester had the satisfaction of being, in some measure, restored to the favour of this excellent prince, his great patron and benefactor, a few days before his death: if he may be supposed ever to have forfeited it; which he certainly did not, till the King himself had, in a manner, lost his own liberty.

Upon the accession of Richard II. to the Throne, all difficulties with regard to the Bishop of Winchester's affairs ceased immediately; which gives us a farther presumption, that Alice Perrers had no hand in removing them, for her power was now at an end. He was³ summoned to attend at the King's Coronation, by the King's writ, dated June the 26th; and accordingly assisted⁴ at that ceremony on the 15th of July. His pardon⁵ passed the Privy Seal on the 31st of the same month, as soon as a thing of this nature, at such a time, could well be dispatched. 'Tis conceived in the fullest and most extensive

³ Regist. Wykeham, part 4. fol. 15.

⁴ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 157.

⁵ Ibid. p. 163, &c.

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terms possible, as ⁶ Lord Coke has particularly observed. It recites, in the first place, the first seven articles of accusation, which we have already given; and then sets forth, that the King, reflecting upon the great damages and hardships that the Bishop of Winchester hath sustained, on occasion of the said impeachment; and revolving in his mind the many acceptable, useful, and laudable services, which the said Bishop, with great labour and expence, hath long performed for his Grandfather, the many high offices which he hath held under his Grandfather and Father, and the special affection and sincere love which his Father, while he lived, always bore towards the said Bishop; out of his special favour, and with his certain knowledge, and also by advice and consent of his Uncle the Duke of Lancaster and other Prelates and Lords of his Council, remits and pardons all the aforesaid articles, and all other crimes and

⁶ “ The most large and beneficial pardons by Letters
 “ Patents, which we have read and do remember, were
 “ that to William Wickham Bishop of Winchester (for
 “ good men will never refuse God and the King’s par-
 “ don, because every man doth often offend both of
 “ them) and that other to Thomas Woolsey Cardinal;
 “ which are learnedly and largely penned.” 3 Instit.
 chap. 105.

offences whatsoever in the amplest terms, and in the fullest manner, the exception of the said Bishop in the Act of Grace passed in the last Parliament of the late King, and all other statutes to the contrary notwithstanding: concluding with a clause to this effect; "Willing that all men
 " should know, that, although we have
 " granted to the Bishop of Winchester the
 " said pardons and graces, nevertheless we
 " do not think the said Bishop to be in
 " anywise chargeable, in the sight of God,
 " with any of the matters thus by us par-
 " doned, remitted, or released unto him,
 " but do hold him to be, as to all and
 " every of them, wholly innocent and
 " guiltless."

By an instrument ⁷ under the Privy Seal, likewise of the same date, which first recites the eighth article of accusation, as expressed above, in consequence of which his Temporalties were seized, the King grants him a full remission of all the burthens before mentioned, which were imposed on him upon the restitution of his Temporalties; pardons and releases him from all matters contained in the said articles; and

⁷ Rym. Fœd. ibid. p. 168.

graciously

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graciously remits and grants unto him all such profits and revenues of the said Temporalties, as were due to himself, then Prince of Wales, and not paid at the time of the restitution. However, the loss sustained by the Bishop, in this affair, is^s said, in the whole to have amounted to 10000 marks.



* MS. Coll. Wint.

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THE

THE
L I F E
O F
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

S E C T I O N V.

*Civil affairs during the former part of the
Reign of Richard the Second.*

WYKEHAM, as we have seen, even in the reign of Edward the Third, firmly established in the esteem and affection of the King, and supported by the favour of the people, yet could not secure himself against the malice of his enemies, or more properly, against the resentment of one great man, whom, in defence of a most just and honourable cause,
and

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and from a principle of gratitude and loyalty, he had dared to oppose. One in his high station, and that had long borne so distinguished a part in public affairs, must have found it a much more difficult task to act with honour and dignity, and to carry himself steadily and safely, through the unhappy reign of Richard the Second. The former part of which was subject to all the inconveniencies of a minority; unsettled measures, divided counsels, ill management in the revenues, continual losses abroad, and dangerous seditions at home: and what was of greater consequence than all, so little care was taken of the King's education, (for he seems to have been not at all deficient in his natural endowments) that when he was of age the state of affairs became in his hands much worse than before. The latter part was spent in a hazardous contention between two violent parties: the King, encouraged by his favourites and flatterers, avowing his endeavours to establish himself in an unlimited power; and his opposers openly threatening him with the example of his

¹ Rot. Parl. 21. R. 2. tit. 47.

great

great grandfather Edward the Second. The event was fatal, first to the King's ministers, afterward to the chiefs of the popular party, and lastly, to the King himself: and the consequence was a most bloody civil war, that in the next age, for many years, continued to lay waste the nation, and almost utterly extirpated the Royal Family. Wykeham conducted himself through these dangerous times, with that wisdom and caution which might be expected from one of his great experience; so as to maintain himself always in credit and in a due degree of favour with the King, at the same time that he stood high in the esteem and confidence of the people.

The Duke of Lancaster was sensible, that his late violent proceedings and imperious behaviour had rendered him extremely odious to the whole nation. His designs upon the Crown, if he ever really entertained them, he must have relinquished some time ago; but still he had very fair pretensions to the Protectorship during the minority of the King. In the beginning of the new reign therefore he used his utmost endeavours to recover, if possible,
the

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the credit he had lost, and to shew himself in a more popular light. ² A few days before, he had offended the city of London more than ever, by turning out the Mayor and Aldermen, and appointing others in their places, on occasion of the late riot. He now, by the young King's mediation, and with the best grace he could, immediately reconciled himself to the City: and in the cavalcade of the King and his Court through London the same day, the Duke and his friend the Lord Percy, (who had been engaged with him in the same quarrel) being at the head of the guards, the first as high Steward, the latter as Marshal of England, to make way for the King; they both of them studied to behave themselves towards the citizens of all ranks, in the most obliging and courteous manner, addressing them with the utmost condescension and familiarity, and giving them all possible demonstrations of the sincerest regard and friendship. Sir Peter de la Mare ³ was immediately released from his imprisonment in Nottingham Castle, with great

² Walsingham, Stow.

³ Walsingham, Hyp. Neust.

marks of honour; the Bishop of Winchester's pardon was ordered to be expedited with all dispatch; both probably at the Duke of Lancaster's motion, at least not without his concurrence. Yet all this affectation of popularity had very little effect in removing the impressions, which his former behaviour had left upon the minds of all orders of men. And when, immediately after the Coronation, the administration of affairs during the minority came to be settled in a great council of the Lords and Prelates, instead of naming the Duke of Lancaster sole Protector, they⁴ constituted a Council or Regency, consisting of twelve persons of different estates, without so much as admitting him into the number.

The Duke of Lancaster could not dissemble his disgust upon this occasion: he desired⁵ the King's leave to retire from Court, and went to his Castle of Kenilworth; professing however, before he went, that, in case his assistance should be wanted,

⁴ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 161. Confirmed by Letters Patent, July 20, 1377. Ibid.

⁵ Walsingham.

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he would attend his Majesty with a larger train than any Nobleman in the kingdom, and should be always ready to promote his honour and service. His friend the Lord Percy, now earl of Northumberland, expressed likewise his resentment upon this occasion, and resigned his staff of Marshal, which he had obtained by the Duke's favour.

Soon ⁶ afterwards the Parliament met, not at all more favourably disposed towards the Duke of Lancaster; and he was not now in such power, as to awe them into a compliance with his will. The ⁷ first step the Commons took, was to choose for their Speaker Sir Peter de La Mare, the great Patriot of the Good Parliament; who, on that account, had been thrown into prison, and, contrary to all law, confined there a whole year, by the oppressive power of the Duke of Lancaster. And ⁸ agreeably to this beginning, they proceeded to give ample testimony of their approbation of what was done in that Parliament, the business of which they in a manner resumed;

⁶ October 13, 1377.

⁷ Rot. Parl. i. R. 2.

⁸ Walsingham, Stow.

and

and of their dislike of the contrary measures of the last Parliament, which they in several instances reversed. They petitioned⁹, that the King and Lords would name, in Parliament, certain persons of divers estates, such as were best able, and would be most diligent and careful, to promote the public good, to be of the King's continual Council, and to act jointly with the great Officers of State. This petition was granted, and nine persons, chosen by the advice of the Lords, were appointed. This Council must necessarily have superseded the Regency before established, their powers being wholly inconsistent. And thus, not only the Duke of Lancaster himself, but one or two of his chief friends likewise who were of that Regency, in particular the Lord Latimer, were now entirely set aside. The Commons farther demanded, that judgement might be executed upon Alice Perrers, according to her deserts, and without favour or affection; and that, considering the great damage she had done to the kingdom, her forfeited estates might be applied to the relief of

⁹ Rot. Parl. 1. R. 2. tit. 18, 42, 43, 49.

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the people, whom she had in many ways injured. This petition was in consequence of her impeachment before the Lords, upon the Statute of maintenance, made expressly on her account in the Parliament of 1376; on which she received sentence of banishment, and forfeiture of all goods and estates, both in demesne and in reversion. They petitioned also, that a declaration might be made, as to the moneys and subsidies, misapplied and unwarrantably expended by improper and unprofitable ministers; and that the said ministers might be punished for the relief of the people. They farther represent, that the late King was guided by evil Counsellors; and pray that all such Counsellors as have been before convicted upon full evidence, and attainted, may be removed from the King's Counsels, and that neither they, nor others like them, be ever admitted near the King's person, nor bear office under him: and that all grants ¹ made by
the

¹ This Petition of the Commons was probably occasioned by the conviction of Alice Perrers in the House of Lords; one article which was proved against her was, that she had obtained of the late King, with the
assent

the late King may be examined, and if found to have been unworthily bestowed, may be revoked: with all which requests the King complied. In all this the Commons seem to have proceeded in a temperate and dispassionate manner, and to have considered very rightly, that extreme rigour would have been unadvisable in

assent of the Council, for Richard Lyons, a remission of 300 l. which he owed to the Exchequer, restoration of lands and goods forfeited, and moreover a grant to him of 1000 marks. It might also have respect to the many grants, which she had obtained of the King for herself; as may be seen in MS. Rymer, Vol. 1. Miscellan. Ed. 1. N^o 60, 64, 66, 70. and Index Rot. Pat. Biblioth. Cotton. Titus, C. 2, and 3. Beside the grant of the late queen Philippa's jewels, 47. Ed. 3. Rymer Fœd. Vol. 7th, p. 28. These grants bear date from the 41st of Ed. 3. to the end of his reign. Her estates were very considerable: beside a great many lands, tenements, advowsons, &c. she had in different counties, twenty-two manors, for the most part in possession, some few of them in reversion. Tho' the King granted the petition of the Commons, that her forfeited estates might be applied to the relief of the people, yet about two years afterwards he made a grant of them all to her husband Sir William de Wyndesore. Willam of Wykeham purchased of Sir William de Wyndesore the manor of Meonestoke, in the county of Southampton, and settled it on his College of Winchester: this manor was part of the forfeited estate of Alice, granted to her husband; on which account the King's writ, containing the whole grant above mentioned, is preserved in the Archives of Winchester College, among the title-deeds of that manor. Lib. H. Coll. Wint. fol. 256.

the

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the beginning of a new reign. In their petition for the appointing a standing Council, after complaining of those about the late King, they add; * “ But never-
“ theless the said Commons do not at all
“ desire now to take vengeance of any,
“ that hath done amiss in time past, but
“ that in time to come such evil-doers
“ may be duly punished.”

After these several petitions, manifestly tending to fix all the blame of the mal-administration in the latter part of Edward the Third's reign upon the same set of men, who had been called to account for it, and punished in the Parliament of 1376, and who had gotten themselves disculpated in the succeeding Parliament; the Commons proceeded to address the King in behalf of the Bishop of Winchester in particular; who, by favouring that inquiry, and the proceedings against them, had incurred the resentment of the whole party, and had suffered so much from their malice when they had recovered their power.

The petition of the Commons, upon this occasion, with the King's answer

* Rot. Parl. 1. R. 2. tit. 20.

to it, is expressed in the following manner.

“³ The Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, pray, That, whereas in the Parliament holden at Westminster, on the Quindene of St. Hilary last past, a general grace, pardon, and remission was granted by your Grandfather to all his subjects and lieges of his kingdom of England of every manner, degree, estate, and condition, as it appeareth in the rolls of the said Parliament, in the which general grace, pardon, and remission, ⁴ the Bishop of Winchester was excepted and foreprised; and afterwards your Royal Majesty did grant unto the said Bishop, that he should have and enjoy, fully and entirely, in all points the same graces, pardons, and remissions made unto others his lieges in the said Parliament by your said Grandfather, notwithstanding the exception and foreprison aforesaid; and furthermore did pardon unto him many different articles and impeachments, imposed upon

³ Rot. Parl. 1. R. 2. tit. 99.

⁴ In the Record 'tis only, le dit Evêsqe, by mistake, there being no mention of him before.

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“ him in the time of your said Grandfa-
“ ther; and divers other graces, pardons,
“ and remissions did make unto him; and
“ of all the articles, impeachments, and
“ matters aforesaid, did grant unto him,
“ and cause to be made, your gracious
“ Charters in full, as in them more fully
“ appeareth: may it please your noble
“ Highness, by the advice and common
“ assent of the Prelates, the Duke, the
“ Earls, Barons, and other Lords, and the
“ Commons, to affirm, approve, ratify,
“ and confirm in this present Parliament
“ your said Charters, with all the articles,
“ pardons, graces, remissions, and circum-
“ stances whatsoever in them contained, to
“ the honour of God, and for the safety
“ and surety of the estate of the said Bi-
“ shop, and of his Church of Win-
“ chester.”

“ The Answer.”

“ The King in his own person, and by
“ his own mouth, as also by common as-
“ sent and advice of the Prelates, the Duke,
“ the Earls, Barons, and other Lords, in
“ full Parliament assembled, hath granted

" this petition fully, and in all points, and
 " whatever is contained therein; and will-
 " eth and granteth, by the common assent
 " and advice aforesaid, that the Charters
 " or Letters, whereof this petition maketh
 " mention, and which were with good de-
 " liberation seen, read, and fully heard
 " in the said Parliament, be now affirmed,
 " approved, ratified, and confirmed, under
 " his Great Seal, according to the purport
 " of the said petition, and the effect, te-
 " nor, and form of the Charters and Let-
 " ters aforesaid."

These declarations of Parliament, so
 directly tending to fix the blame of mis-
 management in the latter part of Edward
 the Third's reign upon the Duke of Lan-
 caster and his faction, and so expressly
 clearing the Bishop of Winchester from
 all imputation of that nature, were not
 the effect of any secret intrigue, any un-
 due influence, a peculiar humour, or a spi-
 rit of party prevailing in the present Par-
 liament, and therefore liable to be con-
 tradicted and reversed in the next per-
 haps that should meet; of which, both
 with respect to the cause and the event, the
 proceedings of the last Parliament of the
 late

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late King afford us a remarkable example. On the contrary, they were, in some measure, confirmed by most of the succeeding Parliaments; hardly any of which passed without giving the Bishop of Winchester some mark of their confidence, and some testimony of their opinion of his integrity.

The management of affairs succeeded very ill in the hands of those, to whom the administration was committed by Parliament. The people found no ease in their taxes, nor any retrenchment of expences in the state: the demands for the public services increased, the treasury was exhausted, and the King in debt. The Commons therefore, in the Parliament that met in the beginning of the year 1380, petitioned, * That the King's standing Council might be discharged, and that he would appoint in their stead, only five Counsellors, being his great officers of state; namely, the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy-Seal, Chamberlain, and Steward of the household: and that these officers might not be removed before the next Parlia-

* Rot. Parl. 3. R. 2.

ment. They farther represent to the King, that his subjects are so impoverished by the many subsidies granted to the late King and himself for the defence of the kingdom, that they cannot any longer support these burthens, unless an end be put to the wars, or some other remedy be found; they petition him therefore, that, for his own honour, and the relief of his subjects, he would be pleased to have his own state put under such proper direction, and the behaviour of his officers and ministers, by whose negligence he and his kingdom have greatly suffered, and also his revenues, so inspected and examined, that he may be able to live in a manner suitable to his Majesty, and bear his share in the said burthens, to the ease of his subjects. The King and Council, therefore, in full Parliament, appoint, at their request, sixteen Commissioners; four⁶ Bishops, three Earls, three Bannerets, three Knights, two Citizens of

⁵ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7th, p. 250. The Commission is there given at large, and is dated May 2, 1380. *Per ipsum Regem & Concilium. In pleno Parlamento.* Though the Parliament had finished their session the beginning of March preceding. Wake's State of the Church, p. 312.

⁶ Only three Bishops are mentioned in Rot. Parl.

London,

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London, and one of York; all or any five of whom, provided there be one at least of each state and degree, have power to go into any of his courts or offices, to examine the officers and their accounts; to survey and inspect the revenues of the King and kingdom of all sorts; to examine into the fees of officers under the late King, annuities granted by him, and the like; the state of the late King's household, and his own, with many particulars of the same kind more fully specified: and of the result of their inquiries they are to certify the King and Council. They have power to examine all persons upon oath, except the great Officers of the Kingdom; and all officers, of the late King, and his own, are ordered to attend and assist them, and to produce whatever papers or records are required by them. The Bishop of Winchester was one of these Commissioners. The Parliament could not have given a clearer demonstration of their confidence in him, nor a fuller acknowledgment of the uprightness of his administration under Edward the Third, than by appointing him one of the examiners into the abuses of that reign, as well as the present.

And this, together with what has been observed before on this subject, gives us a full proof as the nature of the case will admit that the nation in general wholly imputed the mal-administration in the latter part of Edward the Third's time, so much complained of, to the Duke of Lancaster and his party, and not to the Bishop of Winchester.

This Commission, tho' in all respects fully settled in Parliament, was not issued in form to the several persons appointed to that service, till the beginning of May following; so that probably no great matter was done in the business of it, when the Parliament met again towards the end of the same year. The⁷ Commons then petitioned the King, that the Commission appointed in the last Parliament might be carried into execution without delay, and that the Lords and others, named in the said Commission, now present in Parliament, be charged to begin their Inquiry on the 20th of January following.

The Commissioners could not have made any great progress in this Inquiry, before

⁷ Rot. Parl 4. R. 2. tit. 28.

their

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their proceedings were interrupted by those terrible^{*} insurrections, which were begun in the Counties of Kent and Essex by the lowest of the People, conducted by leaders the vilest and basest even of their own number. These tumults were at their height about the middle of the next June: the infection of popular madness began to spread widely; the whole nation was thrown into the greatest confusion, and the King and kingdom brought into the most imminent danger. But this dreadful rebellion was soon happily quelled in effect by one bold and successful effort of the young King himself, who in the utmost extremity acted with all the presence of mind, the resolution and spirit, of his great Father and Grandfather; and shewed what might have been expected from him, if he had not unfortunately been thrown into the hands of those, who, to establish the more easily their own power and interest, studied to corrupt his tender mind, and to depress those excellent talents with which nature had endowed him.

To settle the state of the nation, and to quiet the minds of the people, after so

^{*} Walsingham, &c.

great

great a commotion, a Parliament was summoned to meet the beginning of November. The ⁹ Commons petition, that certain Prelates and Lords may be appointed to confer with them on affairs greatly concerning the state of the kingdom: they are ordered to give in the names of such as they would choofe for this purpose in writing; they name seventeen; among them the Bishop of Winchester. After diligent conference with these Lords, they make a grievous complaint of the ill state of the nation, representing, that, unless the administration of government be soon amended, the Kingdom will be utterly ruined. They proceed to enumerate particularly the defaults of government: first, about the King's person, and in his household, through the unreasonable number of servants and attendants maintained therein; as also in his Courts, the Chancery, King's Bench, Common Bench, and Exchequer, by grievous oppressions: and in the Country, by the great multitude of maintainers of quarrels, who carry themselves there like kings; that they are stripped and ruined by the

⁹ Rot. Parl. 5. R. 2. tit. 17, 18, &c.

oppressions

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oppressions of the Purveyors of the King's household; as also by taxes and subsidies, which are levied with great distresses, and oppressions of the people, by the King's Ministers; and though great sums of money are granted and levied, so that they never were so poor before, yet they are not defended from the enemy, but are plundered by land and sea: which mischiefs the poor Commons, who used to live in honour and prosperity, can no longer endure; and these have given occasion to the late insurrections, and unless remedied, will be the cause of greater misfortunes. They therefore beg redress of these grievances, for the safety of the King and kingdom; that evil Officers and Counsellors may be removed; and above all, that the most able and discreet Lords and others of the kingdom may be placed about the person of the King, and in his Council.

The King advises with the Lords of the realm and those of his Council on this petition, which appeared to him to be for the good of himself and his kingdom; and grants that certain Prelates, Lords, and others, may be appointed to examine into the state and government of the King's person

son and household, and provide remedies to the abuses complained of. Nineteen are nominated for this service: the Duke of Lancaster is the first, and the Bishop of Winchester one of that number. They are ordered to sit in Privy Council many days, without doing any thing else in Parliament while this business is depending.

The Commons then address their petitions, relating to the abuses above-mentioned, and the state of the nation in general, to these Commissioners; who seem to have entered effectually upon their Inquiry, and to have made a considerable progress in it. For in the second meeting of this Parliament, at the end of the February following, after an adjournment, the Commons petition, that the Officers of the King's household may be sworn before the Lords in Parliament, to observe the ordinance and government of the King's household, as appointed by the Commissioners: which petition is granted.

But, notwithstanding all the diligence of the Commissioners in regulating these

* Rot. Parl. 5. R. 2. tit. 75.

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affairs, and the precaution taken by the Commons to secure the observance of their regulations, we do not find that complaints of the same abuses ceased at all for the future. Walsingham, having mentioned several of the acts passed in this Parliament, and that many other things were at the same time ordained, adds, " But to what purpose serve acts of Parliament, when afterwards they take no effect at all? the King, by the advice of those about him, used to alter or set aside every thing, that the whole commonalty of the kingdom, and even the nobility itself, had enacted in the preceding Parliaments." Of this he gives us afterwards a remarkable example. Sir Richard Le Scrope had, in this Parliament, been appointed Chancellor by the Commissioners, upon the petition of the Commons addressed to them. Not long after, on his refusing to set the seal to some extravagant grants of the King to certain of his favourite courtiers, the King by their persuasion was induced to take away the Seal from the uncomplying Chancellor. Walsingham adds, that he executed these grants with his own hands ; in this particular

cular he is mistaken: however, he placed the Seal by ² commission in the hands of some others of his courtiers, who probably were not so scrupulous in obeying his commands, and afterwards delivered it to the Bishop of London.

In the Parliament that met October the 6th, 1382, the ³ Commons name the Bishop of Winchester among the Lords, whom they petition to have appointed to confer with them on the matters proposed to their consideration: namely, whether it were more adviseable to agree to the Duke of Lancaster's proposal, for an attempt upon the kingdom of Castile, to which he had pretensions; or that of the Bishop of Norwich, for an expedition against the French and Flemings. Both the Duke and the Bishop were armed by Pope Urban the VIth with powers for publishing a crusade against those adherents to his rival, the Antipope Clement the VIIth. The Commons gave their advice for the latter; which accordingly took place, and ⁴ failed of success by the secret endeavours of the Duke of Lan-

² Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 632.

³ Rot. Parl. 6. R. 2. tit. 14.

⁴ Froissart, Walsingham, Hollisshed.

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caster to obstruct the Bishop's designs, and his affected delay in sending him succours.

The chief occasion of the meeting of the Parliament at the latter end of the year 1383, was to provide for a war with Scotland, which was apprehended to be unavoidable; the truce being now near expiring, and the Antipope Clement having, by way of reprisals, published a crusade against the English, and commissioned the King of Scotland to execute it. Upon this, as was usual in the like cases, the Lords Marchers of the North were ordered by Parliament to their respective countries, to fortify their castles, and to be in readiness to defend the borders against the irruption of the Scots. These Lords therefore petitioned, that part of the supplies, raised for the defence of the nation against Scotland, might be allowed them in consideration of this service. The matter was debated in the House of Lords; and the authority of the Bishop of Winchester, ⁶ who was the principal person that opposed their petition, carried the question against

⁵ Rot. Parl. 7. R. 2.

⁶ Walsingham.

them,

them, notwithstanding ⁷ their great power and influence. He alledged, that the lands and honours, which they now possessed, had been given them for this very purpose, that they might be enabled to defend the borders, and repel the Scots; and so save the kingdom the perpetual trouble and expence of sending forces to those distant parts: that they were in a condition to perform this service with ease; whereas their ancestors, without their power or riches, and supported only by their own courage and bravery, had gained many victories over those enemies of their country. The Parliament, therefore, only granted to these Lords Commissions to raise forces, and to make reprisals upon the Scots. We find, however, that a few years after this ⁸ they gained this very

⁷ The principal of them was Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland. See Cotton, Abridg. p. 283. The same that had been made Marshal of England by the Duke of Lancaster's means at the end of Edward 3d's reign, and Earl of Northumberland at the coronation of Richard the 2d. The Castle of Workworth in Northumberland, and the manor of Rothbury, had been granted to his Grandfather for this very service, in the beginning of Ed. 3d's time. Cotton, Abridg. p. 11. Probably therefore what the Bishop said upon this occasion related chiefly to him.

⁸ Rot. Parl. 11. R. 2. tit. 45.

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point, by petition of the Commons; but with declaration, that it was on account of the sudden breaking out of the war, and for that time only; and with protestation, that it should not be made a precedent.

In the Parliament * held at Salisbury the beginning of the next year, the Bishop of Winchester was likewise one of the Lords, whom the Commons chose to have assigned as a committee, to confer with them upon the proposal of a treaty of peace with France.

The King and Council, as well as the Commons, had recourse to the Bishop of Winchester's wisdom and experience in affairs of difficulty. Many branches of the revenues of the crown were greatly in arrear: this matter required a particular inspection, and an extraordinary power to clear it up and settle it perfectly. Towards the end of the year 1385⁹, the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, and two Bannerets, were for this purpose joined with the Privy Council, and commissioned with full powers to search and give orders, in the Exchequer

* Rot. Parl. 7. R. 2. part 2.

⁹ Rot. Parl. 9. R. 2. tit. 43.

and elsewhere, as it should seem best to them, concerning all manner of debts due to the king.

In the mean time, the King's extravagance, and his immoderate indulgence to his favourites, continued to give general discontent. Courtney ¹, Archbishop of Canterbury, encouraged by some of the nobility, and principally, as it should seem, by the Duke of Gloucester, ventured to remonstrate to the King upon this head; and to tell him plainly, that, unless he would suffer himself to be better advised and directed, his proceedings must soon end in the utter ruin of himself and his kingdom. The King received this reproof with great indignation: he loaded the Archbishop with opprobrious language, and the vehemence of his passion had carried him still farther, had not the Duke of Gloucester interposed. Upon this the Archbishop, to express his resentment, retired from court: but soon met with new cause of disgust. The ² Convocation had granted the King a subsidy in December,

¹ Monachus Evesham. in Vita Richardi 2di, ab Hearnio editus.

² Wake's State of the Church, p. 317.

1384. But the King's necessities were not satisfied: and therefore, about the middle of January, writs were issued for calling another Convocation in Lent, for farther supplies. The Archbishop used his utmost endeavours to divert the King from this resolution of summoning a Convocation again so soon: he wrote to him, desiring him, with great earnestness, to recall his writ. He wrote likewise to the Bishop of Winchester, who was then at court, as well as to some others of his brethren, exhorting them to do what they could, to persuade the King to relinquish his design. But the King persisted in it. The Archbishop obeyed, and summoned the convocation: but, to shew his dissatisfaction, he would not assist at it in person, but commissioned the Bishops of London and Winchester to preside in it in his stead.

These scattered memorials of the Bishop of Winchester's weight and authority, in the management of the most important concerns of the public, I have laid together, as they occurred, in the order of time; which leads us now to the extraordinary Commission of the tenth year of Richard the II. in which he was personally con-

cerned, and upon which the remaining part of the affairs of this reign principally turn. This will require a more full and connected relation: and that it may not be interrupted and confounded with matters of a different nature, it will be proper, first, to consider him again in his more private capacity, and return to his Episcopal acts, and the execution of his charitable designs.

THE

T H E
L I F E
O F
WILLIAM of WYKEHAM.

S E C T I O N VI.

*Ecclesiastical affairs during the reign of
Richard the Second.*

UPON the accession of Richard the Second to the throne, Wykeham, now delivered from the persecution of the Duke of Lancaster, and disengaged, as far as his high station and great authority would permit, from his former constant attendance on public affairs, was resolved

to make use of the opportunity and leisure which these circumstances afforded him ; and applied himself to the great work of executing his design for his two Colleges, upon which he had long before been determined, and for which he had many years been making preparations. His whole plan, as I have already observed, was formed at once ; and the design was noble, uniform, and complete. It was no less than to provide for the perpetual maintenance and instruction of two hundred scholars, to afford them a liberal support, and to lead them through a perfect course of education ; from the first elements of letters, through the whole circle of the Sciences ; from the lowest class of grammatical learning to the highest degrees in the several faculties. It properly and naturally consisted of two parts, rightly forming two establishments, the one subordinate to the other. The design of the one was to lay the foundations of Science, that of the other, to raise and complete the superstructure ; the former was to supply the latter with proper subjects, and the latter was to improve the advantages received in the former. The plan was truly great,

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great, and an original in its kind: as Wykeham had no example to follow in it, so no person has yet been found, who has had the ability, or the generosity, to follow his example, except one, and that a King of England, who has done him the honour to adopt and to copy his whole design.

The work which demanded his attention at this time, was to erect his College at Oxford; the society of which he had already completed and established, and that some years before he began to raise the building. For he proceeded here in the same method, which, as I have already shewn, he took at Winchester: as he began there with forming a private Grammar School, provided with proper Masters, and maintained and supported in it the full number of scholars, which he afterwards established in his College; so

‘ ——— “ Quare pro parte dicti Episcopi, qui, ut
“ asserit, septuaginta Scholaribus in grammaticalibus
“ in eadem Civitate studentibus de bonis a Deo sibi col-
“ latis pluribus annis vitæ necessaria ministravit, nobis
“ fuit humiliter supplicatum.”——From Pope Urban
6th’s Bulle of Licence, to found the College at Win-
chester, &c. dated June 1. 1378. Lib. H. Coll. Wint.
fol. 81.

at Oxford, in the first place, he formed his Society, appointed them a Governor, allowed them a liberal maintenance, provided them with lodgings, and gave them rules and directions for their behaviour; not only that his beneficence might not seem to lie fruitless and ineffectual, while it was only employed in making his purchases of lands, and raising his building, which would take up a considerable time; but that he might bestow his earliest attention, and his greatest care, in forming and perfecting the principal part of his design; and that the life and soul, as it were, might be ready to inform and animate the body of his College, as soon as it could be finished, and so the whole system be at once completed in every part of it. This preparatory establishment, I imagine, took place about the same time with that of Winchester, that is, in the year 1373; which agrees with the account that some ² authors give, that it was seven years before the foundation of the building was laid: but they are mistaken, in supposing that there were only fifty scho-

² Martin, Wood, Harpsfield, Godwin.

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lars maintained by him in this manner; for it appears by the Rolls of Accounts of New College, that in the year 1376 the Society consisted of a Warden and seventy Fellows, called *Pauperes Scholares Venerabilis Domini Domini Wilhelmi de Wykeham Wynton. Episcopi*; and that it had been established, probably to the same number, at least as early as September 1375. Richard Toneworth, fellow of Merton College, was appointed by him Governor of this Society, with the title of Warden, and a salary of 20 l. a year. The Fellows were lodged in Blakehall, Hert-hall, Shulehall, Maydenhall, and Hamer-hall: the expence of their lodging amounted to 10 l. 13 s. 4 d. a year. They were allowed each of them 1 s. 6 d. a week for their commons; and they had proper servants to attend them, who had suitable stipends.

In the 4 year 1379, the Bishop completed his several purchases of lands for the site of his College, and immediately took his measures for erecting his building. In the first place, he obtained the ' King's

³ Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov.

⁴ Ant. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2: p. 129.

⁵ A. Wood. *ibid.* ex. Pat. 3. R. 2, p. 1. m. 32. & Index Rot. Pat. 3. R. 2. Bibliothec. Cotton. Titus, c. 3.
Patent,

Patent, granting him licence to found his College: it is dated June 30th, 1379. He procured likewise ⁶ the Pope's Bulle to the same effect. He published his ⁷ Charter of Foundation November 26th following; by which he entitled his College, *Seinte Marie College of Wynechestre in Oxenford*. It was then vulgarly called the New College; which became in time a sort of proper name for it, and in common use continues to be so to this day. At the same time, upon the resignation of Toneworth, he constituted his kinsman Nicholas Wykeham Warden, with a salary of 40 l. a year. On ⁸ the 5th of March following, at eight o'clock in the morning, the foundation stone was laid: the building was finished in six years; and the Society made their public entrance into it with much solemnity and devotion, singing Litanies, and marching in procession,

⁶ Procem. Statut. Coll. Oxon.

⁷ Regist. 2. Coll. Nov. fol. 138.

⁸ Tractat. in Vet. Reg. Coll. Wint. & Brev. Chron.

The expression in both is, *horâ quartâ ante meridiem*, and afterwards, *horâ tertiâ ante meridiem*. Wykeham did not lay the first stone in person, as some authors say; he was that day at Southwark. Regist. Wykeham, part 2. in Ordinat.

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with the Cross borne before them, at nine o'clock in the morning, on the 14th of April, 1386. The Society⁹ consists of a Warden and seventy poor Scholars, Clerks, Students in Theology, Canon and Civil Law, and Philosophy: twenty are appointed to the study of Laws, ten of them to that of the Canon, and ten to that of the Civil Law; the remaining fifty are to apply themselves to Philosophy (or Arts) and Theology; two of them, however, are permitted to apply themselves to the study of Medicine, and two likewise to that of Astronomy; all of whom are obliged to be in Priests Orders within a certain time, except in case of lawful impediment. Besides these there are ten Priests, three Clerks, and sixteen boys or Choristers, to minister in the service of the Chapel.

The body of statutes, which Wykeham gave to his College, was a work upon which he bestowed much time and constant attention. It was the result of great meditation and study, assisted, confirmed, and brought to maturity, by long observa-

⁹ Statut. Coll. Oxon.

tion and experience. He began it with the first establishment of his Society, and he was continually improving and perfecting it almost as long as he lived. And accordingly it has been always considered as the most judicious and the most complete performance in its kind, and as the best model which the founders of Colleges in succeeding times had to follow; and which indeed most of them have either copied, or closely imitated.

That the first draught of his statutes was made as early as I have mentioned, appears from a letter ¹ of Wykeham himself, which he wrote to the Warden of his College, soon after the Society had made their first entrance into it. In this letter he speaks of his statutes, as duly published and promulged, and in times past frequently made known unto them. The great care and attention, which he employed in revising his statutes from time to time, and in improving them continually, appears very evidently from an ancient draught of them still extant ²; in which the many al-

¹ See Appendix, N^o IX.

² In Archiv. Coll. Nov.

terations,

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terations, corrections, and additions, made in the margin, shew plainly how much pains he bestowed upon this important work; with how much deliberation, and with what great exactness, he weighed every the most minute particular belonging to it. The text of these statutes appears, by some circumstances which it is needless here to enlarge upon, to have been drawn up about the year 1386; and therefore they cannot be the first, which he ever made; since at that time he speaks of his statutes, as often and long before published. At the end of the year 1389, he appointed Commissaries to receive the oaths of the Warden and Scholars of his College, to observe the statutes, which he then transmitted to them, sealed with his seal: this was a new edition of them, much corrected and improved; for, I suppose, it contained all the marginal alterations and additions above mentioned. He gave a third edition of his statutes, reckoning from the time when his College was finished, still much enlarged and corrected, an ancient copy of which likewise is yet remaining⁴: it was

³ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 102.

⁴ Coll. Nov. penes Dom. Custodem.

probably ' of the year 1393. In ⁶ the year 1400, he appointed another Commission for the same purpose, and in the same form, with that of the year 1389; with that he sent to his College a new edition likewise of his statutes, still revised and enlarged: it is the last which he gave, and is the same with that now in force.

The original drawings of a great Master, compared with the finished paintings which he has made from them, let us more intimately into the true spirit of his design; they lay open his whole train of thinking, and discover the reasons of all the most minute alterations which are made in the progress of the work. We see evident marks of his invention in composing, his care in expressing, his judgement in correcting; and have the pleasure of tracing the several steps by which the whole piece has been brought to perfection: and it sometimes also happens, that we have reason to regret the effects of too much study

⁵ Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov. an. 1393. " In Expns. " Magistr. Johannis Haseley & Roberti Keton, equit. " Lond ad Dominum Fundatorem pro statutis reformationis a 2^{do} die Maii p. 10 dies continuo sequentes, " 18s. 6d." Regist. Wykeham. sub dat. Maii 12. 1396. — " in statutis dicti Coll. ultimo correctis —."

⁶ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 182.

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and application, of accuracy and correctness pursued too far; when the cool endeavours of art have not been able to reach the warm strokes of genius, and perhaps some particular parts of the finished piece have even wanted the propriety and justness, which they had in the first composition. In a work of imitation, the artist endeavours to express the most simple appearances of nature, her freest and most undisguised features, attitudes, and operations; and the first impressions of these, upon a warm imagination, are commonly the liveliest and the truest. In a work of policy, the legislator ought to have chiefly in view the leading motives and main springs of human action; and these are open and obvious, the most easily investigated, and the most readily set to work. The more simple the composition of his system, the more surely will it attain its end, without disorder or impediment. Subordinate parts, and inferior but more complicated principles, will indeed require much care and consideration: even all the lesser circumstances ought to be well weighed, and every precaution taken to prevent perversion and abuse. Yet may this close attention to particulars be easily carried to excess: too much refine-

refinement will only give the greater scope and advantage to evasion; and 'tis the usual misfortune of frequent alteration in a plan once in the main well adjusted, that while it improves some parts, it is attended with unforeseen inconvenience in others, perhaps, of greater consequence. Something of this kind, I think, may be observed in one of the last revisions which Wykeham made of his statutes; and that in a point of considerable importance, the manner of election into his College at Oxford, which seems then to have been unhappily altered for the worse. The method which he had established at first, and which was accordingly observed, I believe, till the year 1393, was to fill up the vacancies of the preceding year by an annual election; and that, in case before nine or ten months of the current year were past, there should happen six or more vacancies, they were to be filled up by an interelection. The only inconvenience of this method was, that the Society would very often want of its full complement of members; and Wykeham was very unwilling, that any part of his bounty should ever lie dormant and inactive. By making it a pre-election, to supply the vacancies immediately, each

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each as they should fall in the year ensuing, he effectually prevented this inconvenience; but at the same time opened a door to much greater inconveniences, to which the new method has been found liable⁷; to the greatest possible perversion of his charity, a shameful traffic between the Fellow of the College, that begins to sit loose to the Society, and the presumptive successor; an abuse of which he was not aware, the simplicity and probity of that age perhaps affording no example of the like. The laws⁸ of the Realm have since endeavoured to remedy all abuses of this kind, but in vain; nor is it perhaps in the power of those, who are most concerned to do it, to prevent them in every instance: but it behoves all such to exert their utmost diligence and resolution in putting an effectual stop to so scandalous a practice, if they have any regard for the honour of their Society, or for their own reputation.

Wykeham endowed his College with lands and estates, whose revenues, at that time, were fully sufficient for the support of it, and amply supplied all the uses and purposes for which he designed it: he pro-

⁷ See Appendix. N^o XII.

⁸ See Statute 31. Eliz. chap. 6.

cured a ⁷ Bulle of the Pope, confirming his statutes, and exempting his College from all jurisdiction, Legatine, Archi-Episcopal and Episcopal, except that of the Bishop of Winchester: for by his statutes he had appointed his successors the Bishops of Winchester to be the sole Visitors of it, recommending it to their protection and patronage. He himself, as long as he lived, cherished his young Society with all the care and affection of a tender parent. He assisted ⁸ them with his directions in the management of all their affairs: he held several visitations of his College by his Commissaries; namely, in the years 1385¹, 1392¹, and 1400². And from thence he supplied himself with men of learning and abilities, whom he admitted to a more intimate attendance upon him, and by whom he transacted all his business: such were ³ Nicholas Wykeham, John Elmer, John

⁷ In Archivis Registrarii Archidiaconatus Winton. Dated July 19, 1398.

⁸ Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov. passim. See Appendix, N^o IX. X and XI.

¹ Regist. Wykeham, part. 3. b. fol. 74.

² Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov. hujus anni.

³ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 182.

⁴ Regist. Wykeham, & Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov. passim.

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and Robert Keton, Walter Aude, Simon Membury, and others; whom he rewarded with ample preferments.

While the Bishop was engaged in building his College at Oxford, he established in proper form his Society at Winchester. His ⁴ Charter of foundation bears date October the 20th, 1382, by which he nominates ⁵ Thomas de Cranle Warden, admits the Scholars, and gives his College the same name of **Seinte Marie College of Wynchester**. The next year after he had finished his building at Oxford, he began that at Winchester, for which he ⁶ had obtained both the Pope's and the King's licence long before. A natural affection and prejudice for the very place, which he had frequented in his early days, seems to have had its weight in determin-

⁴ Lib. H. Coll. Wint. fol. 85.

⁵ He had been Fellow of Merton College; was made Warden of New College by the Founder, 1389; he was Chancellor of the University of Oxford; made Archbishop of Dublin, 1397; died 1417. For a farther account of his uncommon endowments and abilities, see Ware de Præsul. Hibern. or Annals of Ireland, in Camden's Britannia, Edit. Gibson, Appendix to Vol. II.

⁶ Lib. H. Coll. Wint. fol. 23 and 81. Note, that the Pope's Bulle of licence is dated June 1, 1378. The King's was obtained, an. Richardi II. 6to. Index Rot. Pat. Biblioth. Cotton. Titus, c. 3.

ing the situation of it: the school ⁶, which Wykeham went to when he was a boy, was where his College now stands. The first ⁷ stone was laid on March the 26th, 1387, at nine o'clock in the morning: it took up six years likewise in building, and the Warden and Society made their solemn entrance into it, chanting in procession, at nine o'clock in the morning on March the 28th, 1393. The school had now subsisted near twenty years, having been opened at Michaelmas 1373. It was completely established from the first to its full number of seventy Scholars, and to all other intents and purposes; and continued all along to furnish the Society at Oxford with proper subjects by election. It was at first committed to the care of a Master and Undermaster only: in the year 1382, it was placed under the superior government of a Warden. This was the whole Society that made their formal entrance into it, as abovementioned. Till the College was erected, they were provided with lodgings in the ⁸ parish of St. John

⁶ MS. Coll. Wint.

⁷ Tractat. in Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint. & Brev. Chron.

⁸ See Appendix, N^o X. It is called the parish of St. John

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John upon the Hill. The ⁹ first nomination of Fellows was made by the Founder on the 20th of December, 1394. He nominated five only, tho' he had at that time determined the number to ten. But the Chapel was not yet quite finished, nor was it ¹ dedicated and consecrated till the middle of the next year: soon after which, we may suppose, that the full number of Fellows, and of all other members designed to bear a more particular relation to the service of it, was completed by him. The whole Society ² consists of a Warden, seventy poor Scholars, to be instructed in Grammatical learning, ten secular Priests perpetual Fellows, three Priests Chaplains, three Clerks, and sixteen Choristers: and for the instruction of the Scholars, a Schoolmaster, and an Undermaster or Usher.

The statutes, which he gave to his College at Winchester, and which are referred to in the Charter of Foundation, are as it were the counterpart of those of his Col-

St. John Baptist upon St. Giles's Hill, in Regist. Coll. Wint. an. 1453.

⁹ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 132.

¹ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 136.

² Statut. Coll. Wint.

lege at Oxford: he amended, improved, and enlarged the former, by the same steps as he had done the latter; and he gave the last edition, and ³ received the oaths of the several members of the Society to the observance of them, by his Commissaries appointed for that purpose, September the 9th, 1400. In this case he had no occasion to make a particular provision in constituting a Visitor of his College; the situation of it coincided with his design, and he left it under the Ordinary Jurisdiction of the Diocesan, the Bishop of Winchester. Besides, he had here taken a farther precaution for securing the due observance of his statutes, by making his College at Winchester subordinate, as well in government and discipline, as in use and design, to that at Oxford. He placed the former under the constant care and inspection of the latter, by appointing a solemn Visitation to be held there every year, by the Warden of his superior College in conjunction with two other Supervisors annually chosen out of the Fellows of the same College.

Wykeham enjoyed for many years the pleasure, a pleasure the greatest to a good

³ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 181.

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and generous heart that can be enjoyed, of seeing the good effects of his own beneficence, and receiving in them the proper reward of his pious labours; of observing his Colleges growing up under his eye, and continually bringing forth those fruits of virtue, piety, and learning, which he had reason to expect from them. They continued still to rise in reputation, and⁴ furnished the Church and State with many eminent and able men in all professions. Not long after his death, one of his own Scholars, whom he had himself seen educated in both his Societies, and raised under his inspection, and probably with his favour and assistance in conjunction with his own great merits, to a⁵ considerable degree of eminence, became an illustrious follower of his great example. This was

⁴ "Non equidem fefellit opinio: nam inde, velut ex equo Trojano, viri omni tempore virtute excellentes prodeunt." Polyd. Virgil. Ang. Hist. lib. xix.

"Neque Collegium quodvis aliud vel plures, vel ad negotia tum sacra tum civilia procuranda magis idoneos, in Ecclesiam aut Rempublicam emisisse constat." A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 158.

⁵ "Venerabilis Vir Magister Henricus Chichele, L. L. D. Canonicus Sarum. Reverendi in Christo Patris domini Richardi Dei gratia Episc. Sarum. in remotis agentis Vicarius in Spiritualibus Generalis. Jun. 9, 1398."—Regist. Wykeham, part 1. fol. 286.

Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury; who⁶, besides a Chantry and Hospital, which he built at Higham-Ferrers, the place of his birth, founded likewise All Souls College in Oxford, for the maintenance of forty Fellows (besides Chaplains, Clerks, and Choristers) who, according to Wykeham's plan, are appointed, twenty-four of them to the study of Theology and Philosophy, and the remaining sixteen to that of the Canon and Civil Laws. He gave a handsome testimony of his affection, esteem, and gratitude, towards the College in which he had received his Academical education, by a considerable present, (123 l. 6 s. and 8 d. to be a fund for loans to the Fellows on proper occasions;) and by appointing Dr. Richard Andrews, one of that Society, and with whom he had contracted a personal acquaintance there, to be the first Governor of his own College.

Shortly after this, Henry the Sixth founded his two Colleges of Eton and Cambridge, intirely upon Wykeham's plan, whose statutes he has transcribed without any material alteration. While the King

⁶ A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 172, &c. Tanner. Notit. Monast. p. 388, and 441.

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was employed in this pious work, he ⁷ frequently honoured Winchester College with his presence; not only to testify the favour and regard which he bore to that Society, but that he might also more nearly inspect, and personally examine, the laws, the spirit, the success, and good effects, of an institution, which he proposed to himself for a model. From hence it appears, that his imitation of Wykeham's plan was not owing to a casual thought of his own, or a partial recommendation from another, or an approbation founded only on common report or popular opinion; but was the result of deliberate inquiry, of knowledge and experience. He came to Winchester College five several times with this design, and was afterwards frequently there, during his residence for above a month at Winchester, when the Parliament was held there in the year 1449. He was always received with all the honours and respect due to so illustrious a guest, and as constantly testified his satisfaction by some memorial of his good-will and affection towards the Society. At one time, he made

⁷ See Appendix, N° XIII.

them

them a present of one hundred nobles to adorn the high altar, with ⁸ which was purchased a pair of large basons of silver gilt: at another, he gave his best robe, save one, consisting of cloth of tissue of gold and fur of sables, which ⁹ was likewise applied to the use of the Chapel: at others, he gave a chalice of gold, two phials of gold, and a tabernacle of gold, adorned ¹ with precious stones, and with the images of the Holy Trinity, and the Blessed Virgin, of Chrystall. He moreover confirmed and enlarged the liberties and privileges, which his Royal Predecessors had granted to that Society.

William ² of Waynflete was Schoolmaster of Winchester College, at the time when the King made his first visit, and had been so about eleven years: he had filled that important post with such ability, and had executed his office with such diligence, judgment, and success, that the King, to give his new seminary the greatest advantage it could possibly have, that of an excellent

⁸ Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint.

⁹ Ibid. ¹ Ibid.

² Regist. Coll. Wint.

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and approved instructor, removed him next year to the same ³ employment at Eton. He soon afterwards made him Provost of Eton College; and then, by his recommendation, Bishop of Winchester. Waynflete continued many years in this station, and was thence enabled to become another generous imitator of his great predecessor Wykeham, in his ⁴ noble and ample foundation of Magdalen College in Oxford. He also paid New College, out of his esteem for it, and respect to its Founder, (for he had never been himself of that Society) the compliment, of choosing from thence Dr. Richard Mayew to be President of his College; and ⁵ of permitting his Fellows to have an equal regard to the members of the same Society with those of their own, in the choice of their Presidents for the future.

Having mentioned the singular honour done to Winchester College by the repeated visits of a Royal Guest, I cannot wholly pass over some distinctions of the same

³ Budden. in Vita Waynfleti. Parker, ad an. 1447.

⁴ A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 187, &c. Tanner. Notit. Monast. p. 441.

⁵ Statut. Coll. Magd. Oxon.

kind,

kind, as they happen to be recorded, which Wykeham's other College received in his lifetime; and which were intended as testimonies of respect to its Founder, as well as of favour to the Society. About ⁶ the latter end of the year 1388, a Great Council was held at Oxford, at which the principal of the nobility assisted. The New College, as it was called, was at this time an object of curiosity; it was but lately finished, and was by much the most considerable in its appearance of any then extant: so that 'tis no wonder, if the great personages there assembled expressed an inclination to see it. Nicholas Wykeham the Warden, either in compliance with the Founder's general directions, or more probably in obedience to his express orders on this occasion, took this opportunity of sending them an invitation to his College, which was accepted; and he had the honour of entertaining the nobility with their attendants at his lodgings.

⁶ Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov. an. 1388-9. — " Et in
 " Expens. fact. in Aula Custodis tempore Consilii Re-
 " gis & aliorum Dominorum regni per Magistrum Nicho-
 " laum de Wykeham pro tunc custod. pro diversis Do-
 " minis & eorum famul. vi. l. xiii. d."

But

But the ⁶ most memorable compliment of this kind was paid to that Society about four years afterwards by the Duke of Lancaster. He made a visit to the College, accompanied by four Knights, and a large train of attendants; and was entertained there, according ⁷ to the constant usage of that time, with comfits, spices, and wine. I mention this the rather, as it is a proof, that the Bishop of Winchester was at this time upon very good terms with the Duke; as indeed he had been ever since, as well as before, the great disagreement, that happened between them at the end of Edward the Third's time. We ⁸ find them, very soon after this great quarrel, joining together in a common suit, in behalf of the Dean and Chancellor of St. Paul's London, and the Bishop of London's Vicar General, to the Archbishop of Canterbury; who had published a severe sentence of deprivation against them for resisting his authority.

⁶ Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov. an. 1392-3. "Et in
 " expens. fact. pro Domino Duce Lancastr. cum iv.
 " Militibus & aliis multis de familia sua venient. ad Col-
 " legium 13^o die Feb. videlicet in 2 lib. de confect. &
 " $\frac{1}{2}$ lib. draget. & 6 lagen. vini. vi. s. x. d."

⁷ Froissart. passim.

⁸ Parker. Antiq. Brit. ad an. 1379.

Nor do there remain any indications, or any the least traces, of ill-will subsisting between them ever after. Their enmity was occasional and political only, not personal; and when the cause of it ceased, like true courtiers, they dropped their resentment, and became good friends: I mean, as good friends, as courtiers usually are, and very ready to pay one another; upon all common occasions, the mutual offices of civility, attention, and respect.

To proceed to some farther memorials of Wykeham, in his Episcopal capacity: The Archbishops of Canterbury and the Abbots of St. Austin's in the same city interfered very much with one another in their situation and privileges; and it was not to be expected, that two such great personages, in such circumstances, should ever be good neighbours. The constant jealousy that arose from hence was in effect the cause of frequent disputes between them: the Archbishops watched every opportunity of establishing a disputed power; and the Abbots were always upon their guard against all attempts from that quarter. In⁹ the year 1380, Sudbury Arch-

* W. Thorn. Chronica apud X Scriptores, col. 2155.
bishop

bishop of Canterbury had a mind to assert his authority over the Abby, as Legate by office of the Holy See, tho' it was exempt from his Archiepiscopal jurisdiction: he pretended to make a visit of devotion to the bodies of the saints buried there, and was coming thither robed in his Pontificals, and with the Cross carried before him. Michael Peckham the Abbot, alledging, in defence of the privilege and exemption of his Abby, that he had no right to come thither in such form and without permission, shut the gates against him; and placed a guard of armed men there to resist him, if he should attempt to enter by force. Here was matter enough for a long and violent contention: the Archbishop made his complaint to the Pope of the injury and affront offered him, and the Abbot on the other hand pleaded the rights and immunities of his Abby. The Pope referred the whole matter to Wykeham, and by his Bulle gave him full powers to judge in the cause, to cite all persons, however privileged and exempted, and to give sentence in it, which was to be final and without appeal. Wykeham seems to have been very properly chosen upon this occasion, as one

to whom neither party was like to have any exception, as judge or mediator in the dispute: the Archbishop could have no distrust of one of his brethren; and no Bishop would probably have been more agreeable to the Abbot, than the person from whose hands, by the Pope's permission, and at his own request, he had received the solemn benediction on his promotion to that great dignity. But he had too much experience and caution to be overhasty in proceeding in so delicate an affair, in which the most prudent and upright arbitrator could only expect to reap offence and ill-will from one or other, or perhaps both the parties. However, the miserable fate of the poor Archbishop, who about the middle of the next year was murdered by the rebels on Towerhill, prevented all difficulties of this kind, and put an end to the whole dispute for the present. My author, an honest Monk, at that very time one of the fraternity of St. Austin's, and no doubt a vehement stickler for the privileges of his house, seems to think his Abbot was endowed with the gift of prophe-

¹ Registr. Wykeham. part 1. fol. 65. W. Thorn. ibid. col. 2151.

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cy, in his answer to some threatenings of the Archbishop; and piously supposes, that the Prelate's unhappy end was a judgement from heaven, inflicted on him by the saints and patrons of the Monastery, exerting themselves in defence of God's servants.

In ² the year 1382 the Bishops and Clergy began to be greatly alarmed at the progress, which Wickliff's principles and doctrines were daily making, and especially in the University of Oxford. Several Professors and Doctors, of the first distinction for learning there, began to defend and maintain them in the schools, and to preach them publicly; and in so doing were openly encouraged and supported by the countenance of the magistrates of the University, and particularly by the authority of the Chancellor Dr. Robert Rygge.

Courtney ³ Archbishop of Canterbury thought it high time to inquire into this matter, and to take proper measures for putting a stop to this growing sect: for this purpose, and to give all possible weight and solemnity to his proceedings, he sum-

² A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 190. Fox, Vol. 1. p. 407.

³ Wilkins Concil. Mag. Brit. Vol. 3. p. 157, &c.

moned to his assistance some of his brethren the Bishops, and several other Doctors in Divinity and Laws; all of them persons most eminent for their skill and learning, and soundness in religion. They met at the Black Friars London, and having examined the conclusions reported to have been maintained by these Preachers, unanimously condemned them, some as heretical, others as erroneous. This determination the Archbishop sent down to Oxford, ordering at the same time the Chancellor to assist at the publishing, by the Bedel of the Faculty of Divinity, this solemn condemnation of Wickliff's tenets. The Chancellor not only refused to obey the Archbishop's mandate, on pretence that it was an infringement of the privileges of the University, but threatened to oppose by force any one, that should attempt to publish the articles of condemnation. Accordingly he got a considerable number of the party, armed, as it was said, under their gowns, to attend him; and by this means so intimidated the Archbishop's agents, that no one dared to move in it. Dr. Philip Repyngdon, at this time the most strenuous and the most able defender of
of

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of Wickliff's cause, (tho' soon afterwards he recanted, and, being made Bishop of Lincoln, became the most vehement opposer and persecutor of it) had given out beforehand, that he would maintain Wickliff's doctrines in his sermon at St. Fridewyd's on the feast of Corpus Christi; and he did not fail to answer the expectation he had raised. The Chancellor, who had appointed him to preach, was present, and being surrounded by a guard of his party, protected him from all interruption and, insult: and afterwards openly received him with marks of approbation, and returned him thanks. The Archbishop, upon report made to him of these particulars, cited the Chancellor to appear before him. The Chancellor obeyed, and came before the Archbishop, and his Synod of Bishops and Doctors, once more solemnly convened at the Black Friars.

The Bishop of Winchester assisted at each of these Assemblies, and was, after the Archbishop, the principal person there. What share he took in the management of this affair, or with what spirit he acted in it, does not at all appear from any authentic evidence, except in this one circum-

stance : that ⁴ when the Chancellor made his submission to the Archbishop, and begged pardon for his offence, the Bishop of Winchester strenuously interceded for him, and with much difficulty procured his peace ; upon which the Archbishop was satisfied with reprimanding him for what was past, and giving him a severe admonition with regard to his behaviour for the future. It should seem from hence, that Wykeham was inclined to mild and gentle methods of proceeding in this important and delicate business : but the Bishops in general were not in the same way of thinking ; contrary measures were pursued ; the Wickliffists were persecuted and dispersed ; the seeds of the Reformation were sown more widely, and the harvest, by being delayed, became the more plentiful.

A great ⁵ quarrel happened this year between the Priory of St. Frideswyd and the University of Oxford, on occasion of the latter's encroaching upon certain rights and privileges of the former. The King, upon frequent complaints made to him by

⁴ A. Wood. & Fox, *ibid.*

⁵ A. Wood. *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* lib. i. p. 189.

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the Priory, interposed more than once with his authority, by writs directed to the University, forbidding all such encroachments; but without effect. Upon which he gave a ⁶ commission to the Bishop of Winchester and six others, to inquire into the merits of the cause, and to determine it finally. The Commissioners gave judgement in favour of the Priory, and the University submitted to their decision.

The Bishop ⁷ of Winchester was likewise one of four Commissioners appointed by the King to judge in a dispute that had arisen among the fellows of Oriel College, on occasion of the election of a Provost in the year 1385; which was happily composed by their interposition.

In ⁸ the year 1393, Wykeham held a fourth Visitation of the Monastery of his Cathedral Church of Winchester. The principal objects of his inquiry at this time were, the state and condition of the Fabrick; and that of the Society, both in respect of the number of members, and

⁶ MS. Rymer. R. 2. Vol. 2. N^o 64. dated Nov. 18. an. reg. 6.

⁷ A. Wood. Hist. Univ. Oxon. Lib. 1. p. 194.

⁸ MS. Harleian. N^o 328, fol. 12, &c.

the proper supply of provisions allotted to them. The Convent had in former times consisted of sixty Monks, but was now reduced to forty-six; and these were but scantily served with provisions: for the Priors had for some time converted to their own use the profits of certain estates, which were appropriated to the necessary support of the Monks; and this had been the occasion of much dissension between them and their superior. The Bishop by his Injunctions orders, that the number of Monks be increased to sixty, as soon as may be, and that the Prior, for the time being, pay yearly out of his profits 40*l.* towards their due support: upon which consideration the Monks renounce all farther claim upon him. What success the Bishop might have in his endeavours to restore peace to the society, we cannot say: but his design of augmenting it to the ancient number, for which indeed he had given general orders in his former injunctions, seems still to have been ineffectual; for at the time of his death we find ⁹ it was reduced still lower, to the number of forty-two Monks.

⁹ Leger-book of the Church of Wint. N^o 1. fol. 20.

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The other object of his inquiry proved a matter of no less difficulty. The Fabrick of the Church was greatly out of repair, and the estates allotted to that use were very insufficient for it. The Bishop ordered, that the Prior for the time being, should pay 100 l. a year for seven years ensuing, and the Subprior and Convent 100 marks in like manner, for this service; over and above the profits of all estates so allotted, and all gifts and legacies. Whether it were that their revenues proved unequal to such a burthen; or that the necessary repairs required a much larger supply; or that the Bishop was not satisfied with providing for a repair only, and what was merely necessary; we find, that soon after he relieved the Prior and Convent from the whole charge, and with his usual generosity took it intirely upon himself.

For having about this time almost finished his College at Winchester, he began to be at liberty to look out for some new object of his munificence, which he never could suffer long to continue vacant and unemployed: and he soon determined to undertake the repair, or rather

ther the rebuilding, of great part of his Cathedral Church. The ¹ whole fabrick then standing was erected by Bishop Walkelin, who began it in the year 1079. It was of the ² Saxon architecture, not greatly differing from the Roman; with round pillars, much stronger than Doric or Tuscan, or square piers adorned with small pillars; round-headed arches and windows; and plain walls on the outside without buttresses: as appears by the cross-isle and tower which remain of it to this day. The nave of the Church had been for some time in a bad condition: ³ Bishop Edyngdon undertook to repair it in the latter part of his time, and by his will ordered his executors to finish what he had begun. And, whether in pursuance of his design, and by his benefaction, or otherwise, it appears, ⁴ that in the year 1371, some work of this kind was carrying on at a great expence.

¹ Tho. Rudborne apud Wharton. Ang. Sacr. Vol. 1. p. 294, 295. Vid. etiam p. 256, 285. W. Malmesbury.

² Sir Christopher Wren's Historical account of Westminster Abby, in a Letter to Bishop Atterbury. See Wren's Parentalia, or Wldmore's Hist. of Westminster Abby.

³ Wharton. Ang. Sacr. Vol. 1. p. 317.

⁴ Regist. Wykeham. part 3. a. fol. 47.

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However, Wykeham, upon due consideration and survey, found it either so decayed and infirm, or else so mean in its appearance, and so much below the dignity of one of the first Episcopal sees in the kingdom, that he determined to take down the whole from the Tower westward, and to rebuild it both in a stronger and more magnificent manner. This great work he undertook in the year 1394, ⁵ and entered upon it the beginning of the next year, upon the following ⁶ conditions, stipulated between him and the Prior and Convent; who acquit the Bishop of all obligation to it, and acknowledge it as proceeding from his mere liberality, and zeal for the honour of God: They agree to find the whole scaffolding necessary for the work; they give the Bishop free leave to dig and to carry away chalk and sand from any of their lands, as he shall think most convenient and useful for the same purpose; and they allow the whole materials of the old building to be applied to the use of the new.

⁵ "Novam fabricam [Ecclesiæ Wynton.] incepit die
⁶ "Mercurii prox. post festum omnium Sanctorum anno
"regni Regis Richardi II. xviii. & anno consecrationis
"dicti Patris xxviii." MS. Coll. Wint.

⁶ Leger-book of Winchester Church, N^o 1. fol. 18.
& Appendix, N^o XVII.

He

He employed William Winford as Architect: Simon Membury was appointed surveyor of the work on the Bishop's part, and John Wayte, one of the Monks, controller on the part of the Convent. As the Church of Winchester is situated in low ground, which, without great precaution and expence, affords no very sure foundation for so weighty a structure, Wykeham thought it safest to confine himself to the plan of the former building, and to make use of a foundation already tried, and subject to no hazard. He even chose to apply to his purpose some part of the lower order of pillars of the old Church, though his design was in a different style of architecture; that which we commonly call Gothic, with pointed arches and windows, without key-stones, and pillars consisting of an assemblage of many small ones closely connected together; but ⁷ which is more properly Saracen, for such was its origin: the Crusades gave us an idea of this form of architecture, which afterwards prevailed throughout Europe. The pillars or piers of the old building, which he made use

⁷ Sir Christopher Wren. *ibid.*

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of, were about sixteen feet in height; of the same form with those in the east side of the northern Cross-isle: these he carried up higher, according to the new design, altering their form, but retaining their strength, and adopting them as a firm basis for his own work. The new pillars are nearly equal in bulk to the old ones; and the intercolumnation remains much the same. These circumstances, in which stability and security were very wisely in the first place consulted, have been attended however with some inconveniences; as it seems owing to them, that this building has not that lightness and freedom, and that elegance of proportion, which might have been expected from Wykeham's known taste in architecture, and from the style and manner of his other works in this kind; of which we have evident examples in the Chapels of both his Colleges, especially in the western part of that of New College in Oxford, which is remarkably beautiful. To the farther disadvantage of its present appearance, an alteration, which could not then be foreseen, has since happened. At that time the buildings of the Monastery covered the whole south side of
the

the Church, so that it seemed needless to be at a great expence upon ornaments in that part, which was like to be for ever concealed. By the demolition of the Monastery this side is now laid open, and discovers a defect of buttresses and pinnacles, with which the north side, which was then the only one in view, is properly furnished. Another alteration of the same kind has been made in the inside, and with the like effect: immediately before the entrance of the Choir stood the Vestry, which extending from side to side of the Nave, prevented the intire conformation of those pillars, against which it rested, to the new design, but at the same time concealed the irregularity: in the time of Charles the First this was pulled down, and the present beautiful skreen, the work of Inigo Jones, was erected; but no care was taken, by an easy and obvious alteration, to correct a deformity, which was then uncovered, and still continues to disgrace the building, in a part, which of all others is the most frequently exposed to observation. However, with all its defects, which appear thus to be owing partly to an accidental and unforeseen change of circum-

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circumstances, partly to the care of avoiding greater inconveniences, there is no fabrick of its kind in England, after those of York and Lincoln, which excels this part of the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in greatness, stateliness, and majesty. This great pile took up about ten years in erecting, and ⁸ was but just finished when the Bishop died. He ⁹ had provided in his will for the intire completion of his design by his executors in case of his death; and allotted 2500 marks for what then remained to be done, besides 500 marks for the glass windows: this was about a year and a half before it was finished; by which some sort of estimate may be made of the whole expence.

⁸ "Quod quidem opus feliciter consummavit." Tractat. in Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint. See also Appendix, N^o XVI. But the article of agreement between the Bishop and the Convent, dated August 16, 1404, supposes it at that time not quite finished. Leger-book Ch. of Winchester, N^o I. fol. 18.

⁹ See Appendix, N^o XVII.

THE

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S E C T I O N VII.

*Civil affairs during the latter part of the
Reign of Richard the Second.*

WE have seen the part, which the Bishop of Winchester had hitherto acted under Richard II: not wholly retiring from civil affairs, nor forward to engage in them; ready to give his assistance in the public service, whenever it was demanded; prompted to it by duty to his country, not incited by any private interests, or ambitious views of his own. He maintained

tained the same conduct, and the same reserve, throughout this whole reign; but could not avoid being borne away by the tide of public business, farther than his own inclination or judgement would have carried him in times of so great danger and difficulty. Two parties began now to divide the nation; and, as it usually happens, the bounds of moderation were little observed on either side. The King was wholly possessed by a set of favourites and flatterers, intent upon their own views of avarice and ambition, and totally regardless of their master's honour or the good of the public. The chief of these were, Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, created by him Marquess of Dublin and Duke of Ireland: a young man of no abilities, nor any other merit, than that of a graceful person, and an unlimited compliance with the King's humour. Michael de la Pole, made earl of Suffolk and Chancellor: a man of excellent parts and fine natural endowments; but who had not, either by nobility of birth or dignity of character, sufficient credit and authority for the station, to which he was raised; nor any other principle, than that of using all means

means whatever of establishing his fortune by cultivating the King's favour and partiality towards him. Alexander Nevil Archbishop of York, and Sir Simon Burley: both men of credit and capacity, and the latter a servant of the late Prince of Wales, and placed by him near his son's person; but neither of them had the courage or honesty to make use of his influence and authority, which was very great with the young King, in giving him proper advice, and checking him in his excesses. The King himself was of that easy and complying temper, which laid him open to the practices of insinuation and flattery, and rendered him wholly subservient to the will of those, who had gained his affections. As he had no great inclination, so neither was he encouraged or suffered by his favourites, to apply himself to public affairs: he pursued nothing but his pleasures; he loved feasting and jollity, the company of the sprightliest young men and the gayest ladies of his court; he was immoderately fond of pomp and shew¹, a
multitude

¹ " Fertur tamen quod inter alias hujus mundi divitias fecit sibi fieri unam tunicam de perillis & aliis lapidibus

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multitude of attendants, and extravagance of every sort in his way of living. His¹ Court was the most splendid and magnificent of all of that time; and the standing expence of his household far exceeded what it had ever been in any preceding reign. It is said², that the retainers to the

"lapidibus preciosis & auro ex propria ordinatione
"factam ad 30,000 marcarum in valorem appreciatam."
Monach. Evesham. in Vita R^d. 2^d. p. 156. Edit.
Hearn.

² Froissart.

³ John Hardyng, who may be reckoned a contemporary writer, (for he says, that he himself saw the earthquake in the year 1382,) gives the following account of Richard the Second's Court, upon the information of one that was an officer in it.

Trewly I herde Robert Ibelese saie
Clerke of the greneclouth, that to the householde
Come every daie for moste partie alwaie
Ten thousande folke be his meles tolde
That followed the householde aie as they wolde,
And in the Kechyn thre hundreth serbytour
And in ech office many occupiours.

And ladies saier with theire gentle women,
Chambrers also and labenders,
Thre hundreth were accounted of theym then.
Ther wale grete pride amonge the officers
And ober all men ser passynge theire comers
Of riche arraise and muche more costliouse
Than wale before or sith and more precious.

Q

Women

the court, such as daily resorted thither, and had tables provided for them there, amounted to ten thousand persons. There were three hundred servants in the kitchen; and every other office was furnished in the like proportion. The courtiers studied to please the King's taste, and gave into an expensiveness of equipage and dress, that exceeded all bounds: the example had an universal influence, and vanity and profuseness soon became the prevailing humour of the nation. Though the people were pleased at first with the splendid appearance of the court, and were ready enough to run into the same spirit of extravagance; yet as soon as they felt the necessary consequence

Women and gromys in cloth of silk arrayed
 Satayn and damaske in doublettes and in gownes
 In cloth of grayne and skarlett for unpaied
 Cutt werke wale grete both in courte and towne
 [+ Bothe in mens hoddies and also in their gownes]
 Browdroure and furre goldesmyth werk aie newe
 In many wise ech daie they dide renewe.

Grete tare the Kyng aie toke thurgh all the londe
 For whiche comons hym hated free and bonde.

Hardyng's Chronicle. MS. Harleian. N^o 661. fol.
 150.

* This verse wanting in MS: supplied from Grafton's
 Edition.

of

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of it upon themselves, in a new burthen of taxes, continually increasing, and rendered still more burthensome as they themselves grew less frugal, they began to murmur against the King, to withdraw their affection from him by degrees, and at last to hate him. No vice whatever can be insignificant, and of little importance, in Princes: even their levities and indiscretions have often the most pernicious effects with regard to their subjects, and are of the most fatal consequence to themselves.

The party that opposed the court was headed by the Duke of Gloucester, the youngest of the King's uncles. He was a man of considerable abilities, and great spirit and resolution; active, bold, and vehement; easily fired, and incapable of dissembling his opinions or his resentments. He seems to have had the honour of the nation, and the public good, sincerely at heart; but failed of attaining his ends, by pursuing them with too much violence: by the impetuosity of his temper he drove the King to extremities, when more gentle methods might have succeeded better both for himself and his country. His brothers, the Dukes of Lancaster and York,

may properly be accounted of the same party: but the former was often absent in pursuit of his own foreign interests, and it was always in the King's power to gain him by a proper bait thrown out to his ambition: the latter³ was of an indolent disposition, a lover of pleasure, and averse to business; easily prevailed upon to lie still and consult his own quiet, and never acting with spirit upon any occasion. The

³ That Edmonde hight of langeley of goode chere
Glade and mery and of his own ale leved
Withouthyn wronge as chronyclers have brebed.

When all lordes went to counsels and Parle-
ment,
He wolde to huntres and also to haukyng
All gentylnes disporte that myrth appent
He used ale and to the poor supportyng
Wher ever he wale in any place bidinge
Withoute supprise or any extortion
Of the poraille or any oppression.

* * * * *

The Kynge than made the Duke of Yorke be
name
Maister of the Newehouse and of haukes leire
Of his venerie and maister of his game
In whatt cuntraie that he dide repeire
Whiche wale to hym withoute any dispeire
Well more comforte and a gretter gladenes
Than been a lorde of worldely grete riches.

Ibid. fol. 147.

King

King was always jealous of his uncles; during his minority, of the Duke of Lancaster chiefly; afterwards of the Duke of Gloucester: and the nation at first seems to have been in the same disposition towards them; for the Parliament never trusted them with the King's education, nor with the care of his person, and scarcely with any share in the public administration, so far as seemed properly due to their great quality, station, and influence; and it was manifestly the interest of the favourites to concur with both in excluding them intirely. The other leaders of the popular party were, Henry of Bolingbroke Earl of Derby, the Duke of Lancaster's son; the Earl of Arundel, with his brother the Bishop of Ely; the Earls of Nottingham, and Warwick; the principal noblemen of the kingdom for their power, credit, and abilities.

The King's extravagance, and the greediness of his courtiers, kept him always needy and dependent. The murmurs of the people, and the complaints in Parliament of mismanagement of the revenue, and of the expence of the King's household, had never ceased from almost the beginning of

his reign; and so far were they from being effectually redressed, that the grounds and causes of them were continually increasing. A conjuncture now offered, that gave the Parliament an opportunity of exerting itself with more advantage, and calling the ministers and favourites to a severe account. In ⁴ the summer of the year 1386 the French had made vast preparations for an invasion of England; a great army was immediately raised for the defence of the kingdom, and a Parliament was called in the beginning of October, to support the necessary expences on this occasion. The Earl of Suffolk, Chancellor, opened the Parliament by demanding a very large supply: the Parliament made no answer to this demand, but addressed the King to remove the Chancellor and Treasurer from their offices. The King received this address with great indignation, and returned a most haughty answer to it; and to shew how little inclined he was to countenance the designs formed against his ministers, or to concur with the Parliament in their proceedings, he withdrew to his palace at

⁴ Knyghton inter X scriptores. T. Walsingham.

Eltham. After several messages had passed between them to no purpose, the Parliament at last sent to him his uncle the Duke of Gloucester and Arundel Bishop of Ely, who so openly declared to him the resolution of the Parliament, and the ill consequences which his proceedings might have with regard to himself, that he thought proper to return to Westminster, and to comply with all their desires. The Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal, were removed from their offices; and by petition of the Lords and Commons, Arundel Bishop of Ely, John Gilbert Bishop of Hereford, and John de Waltham, were put in their places. The Chancellor was impeached by the Commons; the grants which he had obtained of the King were reversed; and he was adjudged to be imprisoned and ransomed at the King's pleasure.

The Parliament having obtained thus much, and being now delivered from the apprehensions of the French invasion, which had miscarried, were resolved to proceed to a thorough reformation of all

^s Rot. Parl. 10. R. 2.

the abuses so long complained of in vain. They ⁶ represent to the King, that the profits and revenues of the kingdom, by the insufficient counsel and ill management of his officers and others about his person, have been so consumed, alienated, and misapplied, that neither his state and household can be honourably supported, nor the wars for the defence of the kingdom maintained, without intolerable oppression of the people: they therefore petition, that certain Lords and others, whom they name, may be of his great council, together with the three great Officers, with powers to view and examine the state of the realm, to remedy all abuses, and to redress all grievances. **The King**, in compliance with this request, issues a commission under his great seal, constituting the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Abbot of Waltham, the Earl of Arundel, the Lords Cobham, le Scrope, and Devereux, to be of his great and continual Council for one year, in aid of the good government of the king-

⁶ Rot. Parl. 10. R. 2. Knyghton. Col. 2686. Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 83.

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dom, for the due execution of the laws, and the relief of the state of the King and his people. They are invested with full powers to survey and examine the estate and government of his whole kingdom, his courts and household, and the behaviour of all his officers of what degree soever; to inquire into the state of his revenues of all sorts, to examine into all kinds of grants and alienations, of fees and rewards, in his grandfather's time as well as his own; to enter his courts, to cite persons, and order records to be produced, to hear complaints, and to take informations, as to all these and the like matters; and to correct, amend, fully execute, and finally determine, every thing, as it shall seem best to them, for the profit and honour of the King, and the good of his people. These ample powers are granted to any six of them, together with the three great Officers of state; and their resolutions are to be determined by a majority. The commission is confirmed by statute; and it is enacted, that if any one shall disturb the Commissioners in the execution of it, or advise the King to make any revocation of their power, the person on conviction shall

shall forfeit his goods and chattels, for the first attempt; and for the second, shall be punished as a traitor. Upon this⁷ the Lords and Commons, besides certain subsidies already granted, grant a farther subsidy of half a tenth and half a fifteenth; on condition, that, if the subsidies before granted shall, by the diligence and good ordinance of the said commissioners, suffice for the charges of the next year, then the last mentioned subsidy shall in no wise be levied: and also, that no other persons be associated or assigned to the Lords Commissioners, beside those that are mentioned in the commission. Moreover all the grants above mentioned are made on the following condition, that if the power given to the said Lords by the commission shall be in any manner defeated or repelled; or if the said Lords shall in any way be disturbed, so that they cannot freely use the full power committed to them; then the levy and demand of whatever shall remain to be levied by virtue of the said grants shall wholly cease; also that Letters Patent under the great seal shall be issued, recit-

⁷ Rot. Parl. 10. R. 2.

ing the cause, manner, and conditions of all the grants aforesaid.

The King concluded the Parliament with making open protestation by his own mouth, that nothing done in it should prejudice him or his Crown, but that the Royal prerogative should be still saved and maintained.

This commission, which in a manner divested the King of his authority, and placed the whole power of the government in the hands of fourteen persons, was of the same kind, and obtained by much the same means, with those under Henry the Third and Edward the Second; precedents, both in their nature and their consequences, of dangerous example. Yet it must be allowed, that the Duke of Gloucester, who was the author and director of the whole design, had filled it with men for their rank, worth, and capacity, the best qualified for so great a trust. William Courtney Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Lord Richard Le Scrope, were persons of the greatest credit, abilities, and experience, and had all of them executed the office of Chancellor with high reputation. The same may be said of Thomas
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de Brantingham Bishop of Exeter, who had ^a twice borne the office of Treasurer, once in Edward the Third's time, and again in the present reign. The Archbishop of York was admitted into the number, on account of the dignity of his station, tho' one of the King's principal favourites: and on the same account much more properly the Duke of York, whose high quality alone must have given him great influence, and whose moderation was known universally. The Earl of Arundel and his brother, and the Lord Cobham, the most strongly attached to the Duke of Gloucester, and the most deeply engaged in his measures, were at the same time noblemen of distinguished honour, worth, and integrity. As to the Bishop of Winchester in particular, he seems to have had a place in the commission, as one whose reputation would give weight to it, without having made any advances himself towards the attainment of that honour: this is certain, that he, together with several others of his colleagues, took care to have as little share

^a Dugdale's Chronica Series.

as possible in the exercise of those dangerous powers, with which they were invested.

The King's design in making the protestation abovementioned, at the conclusion of the Parliament, was at that time sufficiently understood, and his proceeding soon after fully explained it. The Parliament was no sooner dismissed, than he released the Earl of Suffolk from his imprisonment, and readmitted him to his presence, and to all his former favour. And with him and the rest of his late ministers he consulted, how he might free himself from the restraint laid upon him by the Parliament, and be revenged of his opposers. The scheme concerted between them was, to procure the solemn opinion of all the Judges of the illegality of the commission and statute lately extorted from the King; to raise a sufficient body of forces to support him in maintaining his prerogative; and to procure a Parliament, which should be more at his devotion. In order to execute this project, all the Judges and the Sheriffs of the several counties were summoned to attend

* Knyghton, Walsingham.

the King at Nottingham: the Judges were obliged to give their opinion, that the late commission and statute were null and void, as made against the King's will; and that all, that were concerned in procuring them, were guilty of treason. But it was not so easy to induce the Sheriffs to engage for the raising the army, and procuring the Parliament, which the King required: so that he returned to London, after having declared his designs, without being able to put them in execution. Upon this the Duke of Gloucester, with the Earls of Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and Nottingham, raised an army of 40,000 men, and marched to London. Without entering the city, they deputed the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, and four others, all Lords Commissioners, to the King, to demand that those evil Counsellors, who had interrupted the Commissioners in their proceedings, and had caused differences between the King and the Lords of his Council, might be punished as traitors; protesting, that they meant not to attempt any thing against his person or honour. These Lords, who chose to act as mediators between

tween both parties, endeavoured what they could to reconcile the King to the confederate Lords, and to persuade him to comply with their desires. The King, unable to resist, and at a loss for any other expedient, seemed to hearken to their advice. They returned therefore to the confederates, to make some proposals for an accommodation. It was at last agreed, that the Lords confederate should be admitted to the King's presence, and in the most dutiful manner should lay before him their grievances. The mediating Lords gave them their oaths on the King's behalf, that they should come and return in safety; and for themselves, that, if they should know of any treacherous design formed against them, they would warn them of it. The King received them with great solemnity on his throne in Westminster hall; he treated them with an appearance of friendship, and promised them satisfaction in the next Parliament, which he then appointed. These fair proceedings of the King were only to amuse the Lords, while the Duke of Ireland was raising an army for him in Wales and Cheshire. The confederate Lords, when they

heard he was coming against them, detached a part of their army to meet him, under the command of the Earl of Derby, who intirely defeated him at Radcott-bridge in Oxfordshire. This blow so terrified the King, that he betook himself to the Tower of London. After many collusions with the Lords, he was obliged to give up his favourites, and to meet them in Parliament. In ¹ this Parliament, the Lords confederate exhibited an impeachment of treason against the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, the Archbishop of York, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brambre. The three former, having made their escape, were attainted and outlawed: the two last were executed as traitors. The Judges ², who had given their opinions at Nottingham, were banished: the Bishop of Chichester, who had been concerned in procuring those opinions, was found guilty of treason, and

¹ Rot. Parl. 11. R. 2.

² The house or Inn of Sir Robert de Belknap, late Chief Justice attainted, in the parish of St. Mary Mount-haute London, was in the year following granted by the King to William of Wykeham, in consideration of certain sums due to him: which grant was confirmed by Henry 4th. Index Rot. Parl. 12. R. 2. & 1. H. 4. Bibl. Cotton. Titus, c. 3.

attainted.

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attainted. Sir Simon Burley, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir John Salisbury, Sir James Berners, Thomas Usk, and John Blake, Esqrs; were tried, found guilty, and executed; most of them charged with crimes not before declared to be treason, and the charge hardly supported with sufficient proof. At the conclusion of this Parliament, the King with great solemnity renewed his Coronation oath, the temporal Lords did him homage, and the Prelates swore fealty to him; both houses took an oath to maintain the acts of this Parliament, and the same oath was imposed on the people throughout the kingdom. The Bishops pronounced sentence of excommunication against all that should break this oath, or disturb the peace of the realm. The whole proceedings of the Lords confederate were approved, confirmed, and pardoned, in the fullest manner; and 20,000 l. allowed them for their charges out of the subsidies granted. All things seemed to be pretty well composed: but the King only dissembled his resentment, and reserved himself for a more favourable opportunity of vindicating his own authority, and taking vengeance for the loss

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of his friends : and the people sufficiently declared their dislike of such extraordinary and irregular, as well as severe and sanguinary measures, by giving this Parliament the names of the ³ Wonder-working, and ⁴ the Unmerciful Parliament.

The King was determined to shake off the restraint, which the Parliament had laid upon him, and assert his Royalty, as soon as a proper occasion should offer. He ⁵ was full one and twenty years of age before the last Parliament met ; but that was no season for him to claim to himself any new authority on this account ; and as he then found by experience, that he was not able to contend with the party that opposed him, he was afraid of stirring for some time, lest he should rouse again the same spirit of resistance. The beginning of the next year seemed more favourable to his designs : every thing was now quiet at home, and a truce was on the point of being concluded both with France and Scotland. The King resolved therefore

³ Hollinshed. Stow.

⁴ Knyghton.

⁵ He was born at Bourdeaux Jan. 6. 1366-7. Froissart. W. Thorn, Chronica inter X Scriptores.

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to declare himself of full age in form, and to make the experiment of exerting his authority in a signal manner. He ⁶ summoned a Council at Westminster on the third of May 1389. As soon as they were assembled, the King entered, and on a sudden demanded, how old they took him to be: upon their acknowledging, that he was upwards of twenty-one, Then, replied he, I am of full age to govern my household and kingdom: for why should my condition be worse than that of the meanest of my subjects? The Lords allowing his claim, and saying, that he ought not to be abridged of any of his rights; he proceeded to tell them, that hitherto he had been under their tuition and management, and was not at liberty to do any thing without their advice, thanking them for the care they had taken of himself and his kingdom; but that now he would take the reins of government into his own hands, and choose such officers to serve him, as he should think most expedient; and that therefore he would discharge all those, who were at present in office under him. He

⁶ Knyghton, Walsingham.

then ordered the Chancellor to deliver to him the Great Seal. He displaced the Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the Earl of Arundel Admiral, all of whom had been appointed by Parliament. And his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, with the Earl of Warwick, and several others of the principal nobility, he removed from the Council-board. The King offered the Great Seal to the Bishop of Winchester. The ⁷ Bishop did all he could to excuse himself from accepting it: he neither desired the office itself, nor was pleased with the conjuncture and circumstances, in which it was offered to him; but the King pressed it upon him in such a manner, that he could not refuse it; and ⁸ the next day, Wykeham, much against his inclination, was again constituted Chancellor of England.

From this circumstance it appears clearly enough, that the King had not concerted this matter with the Bishop beforehand; and therefore, that Wykeham had no share in advising or approving the bold

⁷ Monachus Eveshamensis in vita Richardi II. ab Hearnio editus. T. Walsingham.

⁸ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 616.

and hazardous step, which the King had taken. However, being now at the head of his counsels, he seems to have used his utmost endeavours to correct and soften it, and prevent all the ill consequences, that might be apprehended from it. With this design, a proclamation ⁹ was published four days afterwards, setting forth, that for the more effectually maintaining the tranquillity of the nation, the King had, by the advice and assent of his Prelates and Peers, taken into his own hands the full and intire government of the kingdom; and that he hoped and firmly purposed, with the assistance of God and the advice of his Council, to govern his people more to their honour, peace, and prosperity, than they had hitherto been governed. And to prevent the uneasiness and apprehensions, which many concerned in the late disturbances might otherwise lie under, he at the same time fully confirmed all the pardons before granted on that account in Parliament. This ¹ proclamation was in a few days succeeded by another, full of the

⁹ Ibid. p. 619.

¹ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 620.

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most affectionate expressions towards his people, and designed as a specimen of the moderation of his future government: it contained a suspension of the payment of half the tenth and fifteenth granted in the late Parliament held at Cambridge, till the King should see a more urgent occasion for levying it.

The ^a Parliament met at Westminster on Monday the 17th of January, 1389-90, when the Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor of England, by command of the King then present in Parliament, declared the cause of the summons. The substance of his speech upon this occasion is recorded in the Parliament Rolls. ‘ He informs them, ‘ that the principal cause of holding the ‘ present Parliament is, that the King, ‘ who had been long of tender age, being ‘ now by the blessing of God arrived to ‘ maturity of years and discretion, is still ‘ more confirmed in that earnest desire, and ‘ unalterable purpose, which he hath al- ‘ ways entertained, of ruling his subjects ‘ in peace and tranquillity, equity and jus- ‘ tice; resolving to govern his people and

^a Rot. Parl. 13. R. 2.

‘ kingdom

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kingdom still better, if better may be :
and that he wills, that as well Holy
Church, as the Lords Spiritual and Tem-
poral and the Commons, should have and
enjoy their liberties, franchises, and pri-
vileges, in time to come, as they have rea-
sonably used and enjoyed them in the times
of his noble progenitors, the Kings of
England. He farther declares, that the
kingdom is surrounded with enemies,
namely, those of France, Spain, and
Guienne on the one side, and of Scotland
and Ireland on the other ; and that it is
not certainly known, whether the truce,
which is concluded between our Lord
the King and his adversaries of France
and Scotland, to continue from the 15th
of August last past at sun-rising, to the
16th of August that is to be in the year
1392 at sun-rising, will hold or not : and
in case it should hold, that it will be never-
theless necessary to take proper measures
for the safeguard of the borders of Scot-
land, and of Calais, Brest, and Cher-
burgh, and also for the security of Ire-
land and Guienne ; that embassies must
likewise be sent, in order to a treaty of
peace, and to settle the articles of the

‘ treaty, and finally to conclude it: that
‘ the King cannot by any means support
‘ the expences and charges necessary for
‘ these purposes, as is well known, with-
‘ out the aid of his Lords and Commons;
‘ that therefore they must advise and order,
‘ how and in what manner the said ex-
‘ pences and charges may be supplied and
‘ levied, so as to lay as little burthen as
‘ possible upon the people. He moreover
‘ acquaints them, that the King desires to
‘ be informed by the Commons, how the
‘ laws of the land and the statutes are kept
‘ and executed, and his peace maintained
‘ in all parts of the realm, and whether
‘ there be any disturbers of them: as like-
‘ wise of those that move and maintain
‘ quarrels and vexatious suits in the coun-
‘ try, to the hindrance of the law and op-
‘ pression of the people; and how such
‘ evils may be best redressed and amended,
‘ and the kingdom better governed in time
‘ to come; the said Commons being obliged
‘ of right and before God to inform the
‘ King, and to employ all their care and
‘ diligence in the correcting of such faults
‘ to the utmost of their power. He far-
‘ ther informs them, that the King wills,
‘ that

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‘ that full right and justice be done to the
‘ poor as well as to the rich ; and that, if
‘ there be any case or suit that cannot be
‘ well redressed by the common law, the
‘ King hath assigned certain Clerks of his
‘ Chancery, to receive the petitions of the
‘ complainants, and certain Lords to hear
‘ and answer the same petitions, the names
‘ of which Lords and Clerks will be read
‘ openly by the Clerk of Parliament ; and
‘ that those, who would present such peti-
‘ tions, must deliver them before the next
‘ Monday in the evening.’

As soon as the necessary forms of opening the Parliament were over, the new ministry took another measure, probably suggested by the Bishop of Winchester, and arising from his great prudence and caution ; however manifestly tending to the same design, which he had hitherto pursued ; namely, to obviate all occasion of complaint against the King's late proceedings, in removing the great Officers and Council appointed by Parliament, and the manner in which they themselves had been introduced, and to shew both the King and his Ministers in a popular light.

The

The ¹ Bishop of Winchester Chancellor and the Bishop of St. David's Treasurer, being the two great Officers of State, (for ⁴ the Privy Seal seems at this time to have been vacant) with all the Lords of the Council, prayed the King in Parliament to be discharged of their offices, in consideration of the great and continual labours and expences they had undergone therein, and to have others placed in them. At the same time the Chancellor gave up to the King the Great Seal, and the Treasurer the keys of the Exchequer: which the King receiving, discharged those officers together with the Lords of the Council. As soon as they had received their discharge, they required openly, that if any person would complain of any thing unduly done by them, he should declare it to the King in Parliament. The Commons required time to advise of this matter till the next day;

³ Rot. Parl. 13. R. 2.

⁴ I conclude so, and that it was in the Chancellor's hands, from the following article in Wykeham's Register. "Memorandum, quod die Mercurii 9^{no} die Martii anno regni Regis Richardi 2^{di} 13^{mo} venerabilis "pater Dominus Wilhelmus de Wykeham Episcopus Wynton. apud Westminst. reddidit Domino Regi "Sigillum suum secretum, videlicet anulum." Regist. Wykeham, part. 3. b. fol. 100.

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at which time they with the Lords, upon demand made by the Duke of Lancaster by the King's orders, affirmed, that after diligent inquiry they had found all things to have been very well done; and the Commons returned them thanks in full Parliament for their fidelity and good conduct. Whereupon the King reinstated the Chancellor and Treasurer in their offices, and restored all his late Counsellors, and together with them the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, to the Council-board: the former had lately returned from his Spanish expedition after three years absence, and had effected a reconciliation between the Duke of Gloucester and the King. The King however made protestation, that tho' he had now discharged and reinstated those Officers and Counsellors in Parliament, yet this should not be made a precedent, but that he would be at liberty to appoint and remove them at his pleasure.

The ^s next Parliament was held at Westminster the 12th of November 1390. The principal business of it was explained by the Bishop of Winchester, at the opening of it

^s Rot. Parl. 14. R. 2.

in the usual form. ' He began with dis-
 ' couraging to them at large on the import-
 ' ant ends and happy effects of good go-
 ' vernment in general, and in particular of
 ' that of the King during the whole course
 ' of his reign. And having informed them,
 ' that it was the King's will, that Holy
 ' Church, and the Lords Spiritual and Tem-
 ' poral, as also the Cities and Boroughs,
 ' should enjoy their liberties and franchises
 ' in time to come, as they had reasonably
 ' enjoyed them in the times of his noble
 ' progenitors the Kings of England; he
 ' added in substance of matter, that a truce
 ' was concluded between the King and his
 ' adversary of France for a certain term, as
 ' was openly declared in the last Parlia-
 ' ment: that the Bishop of Durham, the
 ' Earl of Northumberland, and others had
 ' also been lately at Calais with a com-
 ' mission from the King for a treaty of
 ' peace, and had made report to the King
 ' of the result of it: that the King finds
 ' it necessary to send thither about Candle-
 ' mas next a more solemn embassy to con-
 ' clude a final peace, with the blessing of
 ' God; which he cannot do without the
 ' advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual
 ' and

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‘ and Temporal, and other wise men of
‘ his Council. That likewise the Bishop
‘ of St. David’s, Treasurer of England,
‘ the Earl Marshal, and others, had been
‘ charged with the King’s commission to
‘ the marches of Scotland, to treat with the
‘ Scots concerning the truce concluded with
‘ the French; and that the Scots will not
‘ yet accede to the said truce. That in-
‘ deed it seems more probable, that the
‘ King will have war, than peace, in that
‘ quarter; which war the King will by
‘ no means enter into, nor undertake, with-
‘ out the advice and assent of his Council:
‘ that the same or another commission must
‘ be sent thither about Candlemas to treat
‘ anew with the Scots. He afterwards laid
‘ before them the great charges and expen-
‘ ces, which must necessarily be incurred,
‘ as well for the safe-guard of the borders
‘ of Scotland, and the country of Ireland,
‘ as of Calais, Brest, Cherburgh, and
‘ Guienne; and likewise the treaties be-
‘ fore-mentioned: he told them, that it
‘ was necessary to make timely preparation
‘ for war, in case that a final peace or
‘ longer truce should not be obtained; that
‘ the King could by no means support the
‘ charges

‘ charges and expences necessarily required
 ‘ for these purposes, without the aid of
 ‘ his subjects; wherefore he would be ad-
 ‘ vised in this Parliament, how the said
 ‘ charges and expences may best be borne
 ‘ and supplied, with the least detriment
 ‘ and burthen of his people. He added
 ‘ moreover, that the King being willing
 ‘ that full justice and right should be done
 ‘ to his people, had assigned certain Clerks
 ‘ of the Chancery to receive the petitions
 ‘ of all those, who would complain in this
 ‘ Parliament of any matter, which could
 ‘ not be redressed by the common law of
 ‘ the land, and certain Lords to hear and
 ‘ answer the same petitions in the usual
 ‘ manner; the names of which Lords and
 ‘ Clerks would be read openly by the Clerk
 ‘ of Parliament.’

The most remarkable thing that passed
 in this Parliament was the joint petition
 of the Prelates, Lords Temporal, and Com-
 mons, praying the King in full Parlia-
 ment, that the Royalty and Prerogative of
 him and his Crown may be saved and
 maintained; that, if any thing had been
 done or attempted against them, it should
 be redressed and amended: and that he
 might

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might be as free in his time, as any of his noble progenitors, formerly Kings of England, had been in theirs. Which seeming honest and reasonable to the King, it was granted in all points. The Parliament breaking up on the third of December, the Lords and Commons returned their humble thanks to the King for his good government, and the great zeal he had continually shewed for the good of his people: and the King on his part thanked them for the liberal grants they had made to him. Thus every thing seemed to be happily composed; the extraordinary and violent proceedings of the Parliaments, of the tenth and eleventh years of the King's reign, properly corrected; and the King and his Parliament united in affection, and in a mutual regard for each others respective rights, and for their common security and happiness.

The Bishop of Winchester had used his best endeavours, and had thus far happily succeeded, in restoring the public tranquillity; and had the satisfaction of leaving things in this fair and promising situation, when he quitted the office of Chancellor.

cellor. On ⁶ the 27th of September 1391 he delivered the Great Seal to the King at Windsor; from what motives, either on his part or the King's, we are not informed. It is not improbable, that Wykeham, when he was pressed into the service so much against his will, might have engaged the King's promise to release him from it, as soon as his affairs would allow of his dismissal. Arundel Archbishop of York, whom he had succeeded in that office, was now made Chancellor again in his place; a man of great abilities and eminent merit, but too strongly attached to the Duke of Gloucester to be much in favour with the King. Perhaps Wykeham might have been instrumental in reconciling the King to him, and restoring him to his office, which he himself had so unwillingly accepted: this however is certain, that the same scheme of coalition and union, which had been entered upon while Wykeham was at the head of the administration, was now carried on farther, and some others, who had been chiefs of the popular party, were readmitted

⁶ Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 707.

into

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into the King's service. The new ministers pursued the same plan; they were equally studious to promote the people's confidence in the King, and to establish his just rights: for ⁷ in the next Parliament, at the instance of the Commons, it was again declared, that the King was as free in his royal prerogative, as any of his predecessors, notwithstanding any statute made in derogation thereof, particularly in the time of Edward the Second; and that if any statute had been made in his time, in prejudice of the liberty of the Crown, it was repealed and annulled.

But the King was not satisfied with these repeated declarations: he thought his power and dignity very precarious, while it depended on the authority of Parliament. He dreaded the popular party, and the effects of opposition and resistance, which he had so lately experienced; and could not bear the restraint, which these apprehensions laid him under. His whole views therefore were from this time directed to one end; to set himself above all opposition and resistance: first by making peace

⁷ Rot. Parl. 15. R. 2.

and gaining firm alliance abroad, and then by establishing an uncontrollable power at home. In consequence of this design, he entered with more earnestness upon a treaty of peace with France, which had been long carried on without effect; the Duke of Lancaster, tho' his own affairs required it, did not dare to conclude it upon very disadvantageous or dishonourable terms; and the Duke of Gloucester had opposed it with his usual vehemence. In the mean time the King became a widower; his great and sincere affliction for the loss of his Queen did not hinder him from pursuing his point, by making proposals soon after for a marriage with the King of France's daughter, a child of seven years old. The match was wholly political, and the King was intent upon it, as the best means of securing both the peace, which he desired, and a powerful support, for which he might have occasion, against his own refractory subjects. The Duke of Gloucester saw the consequences of it, and was determined to oppose it with all his power: and in effect he did persist in his opposi-

* Froissart, Walsingham.

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tion to this measure almost to the last; till every thing was actually concluded, and he saw it was to no purpose to hold out any longer. Froissart⁹ tells a story upon this occasion, which greatly reflects upon the Duke's honour; and, supposing it had been possible for him to break off the match, no less upon his judgement and prudence: he says, the King bribed him to consent to it, or at least to acquiesce in it, by promising him 50000 nobles for himself, and the Earldom of Rochester, with 2000 l, a year, for his son; but this, by his own account, was after all was agreed upon, and while the King was at Calais to receive the Queen; and it does not appear, that any part of this promise was afterwards performed. However this may be, the marriage, and at the same time a truce for thirty years, was concluded.

To secure matters at home, the ' King's first step was to send the Duke of Lancaster out of the way again, by granting to him and his heirs the Duchy of Aquitaine. But being obliged to revoke this grant, as the states of Aquitaine would not consent

⁹ Vol. 4. chap. 78.

¹ Froissart, Walsingham.

to be dismembered from the Crown of England, he did what he could to bind him to his interest, by courting him, and conferring favours on his family. He legitimated the Duke's natural children by Katherine Swinford, whom he had lately married; he got their legitimation confirmed by Parliament, and heaped upon them honours and preferments. But the most important point was to procure a Parliament at his devotion: and this the King at last effected¹ by appointing, and continuing in their offices, such Sheriffs, as would be subservient to him, and would return those for members, whom he should nominate to them; and by gaining over other members, by favours, bribes, or menaces, to consent to whatever he should require.

The Duke of Gloucester saw what the King was aiming at, and thought it necessary to unite more closely with his friends, and to consult with them upon their own and the public safety. Arundel, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and

² Rot. Parl. 20. R. 2. Rym. Fœd. Vol. 7. p. 849.

³ Articles against King Richard, N^o 18, 19, 20. Rot. Parl. 1. H. 4.

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the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, had several meetings with him : what particular resolutions they came to, it is very uncertain, and probably was never known; but their consulting together was enough to awaken the jealousy of the King, and his courtiers were not wanting to alarm him with the most dreadful apprehensions. He determined to get rid of the Duke of Gloucester at any rate. It was difficult to do this, as he was greatly beloved and esteemed by the people. The main point was privately to secure his person : the King contrived the plot himself, and took the principal share in the execution of it. The ⁴ Duke was surprised by an ambush laid for him, as he was riding to London with the King : he was hurried away to the Thames, where a vessel was prepared, which immediately conveyed him to Calais. This was managed with such secrecy, that the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, being sent for by the King, came to Court the next morning without any suspicion, and were arrested and committed to the Tower.

The Dukes of Lancaster and York were in the country when this happened. Sur-

⁴ Froissart, Polydore Virgil.

prised with so unexpected an event, they hastened to London; where, with very little deliberation, they determined on the part they would take in so difficult a conjuncture. They had the meanness to declare their approbation of what was done, and to concur and assist in all the King's measures, manifestly tending to the destruction of their brother, and the extinction of the liberties of their country. The ⁵ Proclamation issued a few days after, setting forth, that the Duke of Gloucester and the other Lords were arrested, not on account of any former rising in arms, but for various other misprisions and extorsions, expressly mentions theirs and the Earl of Derby's assent. And they all accepted and executed the ⁶ King's commission, requiring them to raise each of them a body of forces, in the whole 1800 men, and to attend the King at the ensuing Parliament, to be holden at Westminster, in arms at the head of them. The King besides ordered all the Knights and Gentlemen, who wore his livery of the Hart, to be ready in arms at the same time; and was likewise provided with other

⁵ Rymer, Fœd. Vol. 8. p. 6. Dated July 15, 1397.

⁶ Ibid. p. 13.

forces,

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forces, and a strong guard of Cheshire men, upon whose fidelity he could depend at all events.

The ⁷ Parliament met on the 17th of September 1397, probably otherwise prepared to act as the King would have them, and besides kept in awe by a powerful army. The first thing they did was to repeal the commission and statute of the tenth year of the King's reign, as being made traiterously against his will; and to revoke the pardon granted to the confederate Lords in the succeeding Parliament. The Commons then impeached Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury of high treason, in procuring and executing the commission, and advising the Duke of Gloucester and others to take upon them Royal Power: on which he received sentence of banishment. The King, not daring to bring the Duke of Gloucester to a public trial, had ordered him to be ⁸ privately murdered at Calais. He was now impeached, together with the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, for procuring and executing the com-

⁷ Rot. Parl. 21. R. 2.

⁸ Articles against King Richard, N^o 32. Rot. Parl. 1. H. 4. item Placita Coronæ. Rot. Parl. 1. H. 4.

mission, and taking arms; was adjudged guilty of high treason, and attainted. The Earl of Arundel was beheaded, and the Earl of Warwick banished. The Lord Cobham was found guilty of high treason, on the sole charge of procuring and executing the commission, and was banished. The King satisfied with these proceedings, at the intercession of the Commons excuseth others of the Commissioners, the Duke of York, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Lord le Scrope, then living; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Exeter, and the Abbot of Waltham, deceased; and declares them innocent of the execution and intent of the commission. Which declaration, pronounced by the King himself from the Throne in Parliament, with the advice and consent of the Lords, and by petition of the Commons, hath the force of statute.

Tho' the Bishop of Winchester escapes, to all appearance, so freely on this occasion, yet 'tis probable that the King, taking advantage of his present circumstances, extorted from him a loan of 1000*l*. This sum was demanded of him between

• Rym. Fœd. Vol. 8. p. 9. Dated Aug. 10, 1397.

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the time of the seizing the Lords and the meeting of Parliament, when the King got large sums from his subjects in this way of loan. In such a conjuncture it was not safe for any one to refuse: the Bishop of Winchester was rich, and had been in the commission, and so was subject to a much larger demand than any one beside.

The King having proceeded thus far with success, adjourned the Parliament to the 28th of January, to meet at Shrewsbury, as a more proper place for completing his design. The Bishop of Winchester, probably not caring to see what he could not prevent, sent thither his procurators to excuse his absence, on account of his ill health and infirmities, and to act for him. Here the King, as he imagined, established his power on as firm a foundation, and in as full extent, as he could wish. He had gained the most considerable Lords intirely to his devotion, by conferring new honours upon them, and sharing among them the confiscated estates of the attainted

¹ Regist. Wykeham, part. 3. b. fol. 153. "Quia
" nos corporali molestia & infirmitate ad præsens præ-
" pediti, &c." Dated High-Clere, Jan. 20th, 1397-8.

Lords.

Lords. The Parliament gave sanction of law to all his proceedings, and to whatever he required of them. The answers of the Judges at Nottingham were confirmed, as good and lawful; all the acts of the Parliament of the eleventh year of the King were repealed and annulled; and a subsidy was granted to him for his life. At length the whole power of Parliament was by statute devolved upon the King, twelve Lords, and six of the Commons; or any six of the former, and any three of the latter. The King granted a general pardon; but with protestation, that if the Lords and Commons in Parliament should at any time impugn the grant of the subsidy for his life, then the said pardon should be null and void.

There remained only one difficulty; which was, to give stability and a lasting sanction to every thing thus settled so much to the King's satisfaction. For this purpose the Prelates, Lords, and Commons, were sworn three several times during the course of this Parliament, twice at the shrine of St. Edward, and once at Shrewsbury, to hold and maintain all the ordi-

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ordinances made in it. An oath^{*} was devised to the same intent, which the King forced all his subjects to take: they were required to swear and engage, not only for themselves, but for their heirs and successors also. The Bishops were obliged to pronounce sentence of excommunication against all, that should act or advise any thing contrary to them. The King moreover had them confirmed by a Bulle obtained from the Pope. His Holiness did not grant this favour without a proper return: the[†] King on his part granted a suspension, or moderation, as he called it, of the statute against provisions, made a few years before greatly to the satisfaction of the nation. The[‡] Parliament had sometimes before intrusted the King with a power, limited to a certain time, of dispensing with this statute, by advice of his Council: the King now took upon him to dispense with law by his own authority.

^{*} See Appendix, N^o XIV. This and the following Record I have inserted in the Appendix, as they establish facts of some importance, which have escaped the notice of our historians.

[†] See Appendix, N^o XV.

[‡] See Cotton's Abridgment of the Parliament Rolls, Index, in the word *Provisors*.

All these precautions served only to alarm the people, to awaken them to a sense of the loss of their liberties, and to hasten the revolution, which was so easily brought about the year following; when Richard the Second was deposed, and Henry of Bolingbroke Duke of Lancaster placed on the throne.

It does not appear, that the Bishop of Winchester had any share on either side in this extraordinary and important transaction; farther than by his presence⁵ in the last Parliament of Richard the Second, held on September the 30th, 1399, when that unhappy Prince resigned the Crown, and was solemnly deposed. The first Parliament of Henry the Fourth was summoned a few days after; at⁶ which also the Bishop assisted. On⁷ the 23d of October a solemn Council of the Lords in Parliament was held by the King's command; and the question proposed by the

⁵ As appears by the Register: he was at Southwark from this time till the end of November; nor is there any procuration entered.

⁶ Rot. Parl. 1. H. 4. He was appointed (as usual) one of the Triers of Petitions of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.

⁷ Rot. Parl. 1. H. 4. tit. 74, 76.

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Archbishop of Canterbury, with a strict injunction of secrecy; what was to be done with the late King Richard, so that he might be safely guarded, and his life preserved? They were severally asked their opinions; and they advised, that he should be kept under safe and secret guard in some retired place. In pursuance of which advice, October the 27th, the King being present in Parliament, Richard was adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. The names of all the Lords, that gave this advice, are expressed in the Record: there were fifteen Bishops, seven Abbots, and thirty-six Lords; the Bishop of Winchester was not of the number, tho' at this time resident at his palace in Southwark. His known attachment to the late King, his personal regard for him as his benefactor in many instances, and his veneration for the memory of his father and grandfather his great patrons, would have made his presence, on this delicate occasion, as improper and disagreeable with respect to himself, as it might have been unwelcome and offensive to others. This was the last Parliament which he attended in person: he * ever

* Regist. Wykeham, part. 3. b. fol. 185, 204, 215.
after

after sent procurators to excuse his absence on account of his age and infirmities.

Soon after the dismissal of the Parliament, the Scots, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the Nation, began hostilities, and infested the borders. The designs of France were likewise suspected. The King found it necessary to undertake an expedition to Scotland in person, but was unprovided with money, and was unwilling to call a Parliament again so soon to furnish him with supplies. He therefore summoned a ² Great Council of Lords and Prelates; who, in consideration of the pressing necessity of the nation at this juncture, granted the King an aid of themselves: the Prelates gave a tenth, and the Lords engaged each of them to raise and maintain a certain number of forces. This was to set an example to the rest of the Lords, who were not there present, and to the whole nation: letters under the Privy Seal were sent to all the Abbies to demand a hasty supply; and ¹ afterward to all the

¹ Rym. Ford. Vol. 7. p. 125.

² Chron. S. Alban. ad an. quoted by Wake, State of the Church, p. 338.

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Clergy, who complied with the demand, and granted a subsidy likewise of a tenth. This extraordinary Council was held on February the 9th following. The Bishop of Winchester was summoned to it, and assisted at it. These are the last traces that remain of his appearing and acting in public affairs.

THE

THE
L I F E
OF
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

S E C T I O N VIII.

*From the beginning of Henry the Fourth's
Reign to the Death of Wykeham.*

WYKEHAM was now very far advanced in years, and had from his youth been constantly engaged in a multiplicity of business of the greatest importance, both public and private, which he had attended with infinite assiduity and application: 'tis not to be wondered, that old age and continued labour in conjunction

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tion, should bring upon him those infirmities, which are the usual consequences of each of them separate; and that he should be obliged at last to have recourse to ease and retirement. He had been blest with an excellent constitution, and had enjoyed an uncommon share of health. He had now been Bishop of Winchester above thirty years, and in all that time had never been interrupted by illness in the attendance upon his duty in every capacity, except once. He was somewhat out of order at Merewell about the middle of February, 1392-3; * as I find by a procuration which he sent to the Convocation, excusing his absence on that account. However his disorder, whatever it was, seems not to have been such as to hinder his attendance on common business at that time; and within a fortnight † he was able to remove to Farnham, and to celebrate an Ordination there. I have already in-

* "Quia nos corporali molestia & aliis præpediti negotiis," &c. Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 112.
 † Et in medicin. præparat. apud Oxon. pro Domino Fundatore per litteram ejusdem Domini miss. ad Custod.
 "in festo Purific. Beatæ Mariæ, 12 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$." Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov. an. 1393.

† Regist. Wykeham, part 2. in Ordinat. March 1, 1392.

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timated.

estimated, that the illness, which prevented his attending the Parliament at Shrewsbury, might perhaps be partly political: before this time, as soon as the Adjournment thither was made, he had sent ³ the like excuse to the Convocation, which was to meet on the eighth of October; and joined to this excuse the plea of much business of other kinds. This plea itself supposes, that his illness was not very severe; and we find accordingly ⁴, that at this time he was well enough to remove from Southwark to Esher and Farnham, as he had occasion. About the beginning of November he retired to High-Clere, and continued there near four months; where he was still able to transact business of all sorts, and among the rest to go through the ⁵ ceremony of delivering the Pall to Roger Walden, the new Archbishop of Canterbury. During the two first years of Henry the Fourth ⁶, I find him from

³ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 151. "*Quia nos corporali molestia & aliis præpediti negotiis,*" &c. Dated Esher, October 4th, 1397.

⁴ Regist. Wykeham.

⁵ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 154. Feb. 17, 1397.

⁶ Regist. Wykeham.

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time to time removing from one to another of his Palaces in the country, as he used to do. The first remarkable indication of his weakness and inability of body appears in the month of May 1401, when⁷ he was not able to undergo the fatigue of administering Ordination; but, tho' present himself, he procured another Bishop to ordain for him: and he was ever after obliged to continue the same method of supplying that part of his office. At the end of this year⁸ he retired to Southwaltham; nor did he ever remove from thence; except once or twice, on occasion of some particular business, and that no farther than to Winchester.

The Bishop, with his usual precaution and care, had duly weighed and prepared for this contingency. To secure to himself his own freedom of action, and to prevent all disagreeable interpositions of authority; which, however proper and necessary in such cases, might perhaps be at-

⁷ Regist. Wykeham, part 2. in Ordinat. The person, who from this time generally performed this office for him, was the famous Thomas Merks, the deprived Bishop of Carlisle.

⁸ Regist. Wykeham.

tended with much inconvenience, and tend to aggravate rather than relieve the infirmities of age; he had above ten years before procured a Bulle from the Pope, giving him leave and authority, in consideration of his age and ill health, to assume to himself one or more Coadjutors, without the advice and consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or of the Chapter of Winchester; and, as often as it should please him, to remove them, and in the place of the removed to depute another or others, as he should think proper. The Bishop did not find himself under a necessity of making use of this faculty before the two last years of his life. On the fourth of January, 1402-3, he produced the Pope's Bulle, and having ordered it to be read and published, he in virtue of it then deputed in proper form Dr. Nicholas Wykeham and Dr. John Elmer to be his Coadjutors: and from that time forward all business proceeded with their express consent, and by their authority.

* Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 206. The Bulle is dated July 22, 1391.

† Ibid.

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Being thus relieved, in a great measure, from the constant personal attendance on the duties of his charge, he devoted his whole time and application to the disposal of his temporal goods, and to the care of his spiritual concerns. He finished and signed his * Will on the 4th of July, 1403. The largeness and multiplicity of his legacies, and the great exactness with which every thing relating to them is ordered, must have required much attention, and evidently shews in what strength and perfection he still enjoyed all the faculties of his mind. That extensive and almost boundless generosity, which peculiarly distinguished his whole life, is here fully displayed: it comprehends all orders and degrees of men from the highest to the lowest, and answers every possible demand of piety, gratitude, affection, and charity. He still maintained the same principle, upon which he had always acted, and which is perhaps the most certain and indubitable test of true liberality: as he had always made it a rule to himself, never to defer a generous and munificent action

* See Appendix, N^o XVII.

to another day, when he had the present ability and the immediate opportunity of performing it; so now he was no sooner come to a final determination with regard to the disposal of his riches, than he began himself to fulfil his own intentions; and in a great many instances, in which his present liberality would enhance the benefit which he designed to confer, he distributed his Legacies with his own hands, and became the executor of his own will. This made it necessary for him some time afterwards to add a Codicil to it; by which he declares these articles fully discharged, and acquits his executors of all demands on account of them and all others, in which he should for the future in like manner anticipate their office.

It was a matter of principal concern with all pious persons, and made no small part of the religion of that age, to offer up their prayers for the dead, and to secure for their own souls, after their departure, the benefit of the intercessions of posterity. This persuasion owed its origin to certain customs, that prevailed in the early ages of the Church; innocent perhaps and blameless in themselves, but mistaken

taken at length, and perverted from their first intention to much superstition both in opinion and practice. Prayers for the dead seem at first to have been used only at their funerals. For the greater solemnity, they often chose to join the service of the interment of the dead to the celebration of the Eucharist; and hence perhaps arose the custom of adding alms and oblations to the service for the dead, tho' not joined with the Eucharist. In time it became the practice to repeat these services annually: anniversary days were kept for private persons by their own friends and relations; for Martyrs more publicly, and with greater ceremony; first at their sepulchres, afterward in the Churches, which it became the custom to build over their sepulchres, and even to dedicate to the saints there deposited. All this by degrees crept into the public service of the Church: annual oblations and sacrifices of commemoration, as they were called, were made for them: at the celebration of the Eucharist, the names of Martyrs, Confessors, and Bishops departed in the faith, were publicly recited; and a solemn commemoration was made of the dead in general, with prayers,

some by way of thanksgiving to God for their deliverance out of the troubles of this world, others by way of intercession, that he would receive them to rest, and pardon their failings and infirmities. The people began to conclude, that such services were not merely intended for a memorial of the deceased, and for their own edification, but were in some way profitable to those, in whose behalf they seemed to be made. These oblations and sacrifices, tho' called commemorative, were easily mistaken for propitiatory; and the dead were supposed to obtain pardon of their sins through the intercession of the living. At last, to account fully for a practice either ill founded or misunderstood, the doctrine of Purgatory was invented, or rather borrowed from the heathen. For it happens in Theology, as well as in Natural Philosophy, that to give support and consistency to our own vain imaginations, with regard to some obscure and mistaken question, we are apt to have recourse to some new Hypothesis equally imaginary and vain.

Wykeham by disposition, by education, by principle, and by habit, had a deep
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tincture of piety and devotion. He was persuaded of the truth of all parts of the religion, in which he had been instructed in his childhood; but he seems to have been particularly possessed with the notion of the reasonableness and efficacy of prayers for the dead. It ³ is recorded of him, that he always performed this part of the public service of the Church with peculiar intenseness and fervor, even to the abundant effusion of tears. 'Tis not to be wondered, therefore, if we find him more especially careful in procuring the intercession of the faithful in behalf of himself, his parents, and benefactors. Beside the provisions, which he made for this purpose in both his Colleges by his statutes, he ⁴

had

³ " Et nedum sua, sicut præmittitur, sed & semet ipsum Deo vivum sacrificium optulit, ubi inter missarum solempnia, præsertim ea parte missæ qua pro vivis & mortuis specialiter agitur memoria, lacrimas habundantius effundebat, ex cordis humilitate reputans se indignum, ut frequentius suis secretariis jam expressit, quod tantum perageret officium, & tam dignum tractaret ecclesiæ sacramentum." MS. Coll. Wint.

⁴ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 57, 76, & 132. It appears from fol. 57, that this Chantry was founded before August 22, 1383. But it is probable, from his granting some estates to the Priory of Suthwyk in the

had long before founded a Chantry of five ⁵ Priests, to pray for the souls of his father and mother only, in the Priory of Suthwyk. He ⁶ likewise paid to the Chapter of Windsor two hundred pounds for the purchase of twenty marks a year, to make a perpetual endowment for one additional Chaplain; on condition that his obit should be annually celebrated, and his soul, and the souls of Edward the Third, of his own parents, and of his benefactors, be daily recommended in their prayers. But he thought it also more particularly expedient to establish a constant service of this kind in his own Church, in that part of it, which he had rebuilt, and where he had chosen the place of his burial. Accordingly he had designed from the first, and had now finished, in that part, a Chapel, or Oratory, which was to be his sepulchre and his chantry. The situation of this Chapel seems not at all well cho-

43d year of Edward the Third, that he established it as soon as he was made Bishop of Winchester. Index Rot. Pat. Bibl. Cotton. Titus, C. 2. Tanner. Notit. Monast. p. 162.

⁵ MS. Coll. Wint.

⁶ Ex Originali Indentura in Archivis Ecclesiæ Windfor. Dat. May 29, 1402.

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sen, if we consider it with respect to the whole building ; in which it has no good effect, but creates an irregularity and an embarrassment, which it had been better to have avoided. But Wykeham was determined to the choice of this particular place, by a consideration of a very different kind ; by an early prejudice, and a strong religious impression, which had been stamped on his mind in his childhood. In ⁷ this part of the old Church there had been

7 “ Erat enim Wilhelmus, pater venerabilis antedictus, a primevo litterarum studio Wynton. traditus deo non modicum, & Ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ devotus, nec non basilicæ majoris Wynton. in qua ut speratur miseratione divina postmodum præfuit, ubi jam humatus corpore requiescit, limina frequentans devote, & coram Beatæ Virginis Mariæ ymagine, stante in capella in qua traditus est ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, suas speciales fundens orationes cotidie, missam matutinalem cujusdam monachi, Pekismasse tunc dictam vulgariter, indies consuevit audire ; & sic in pueritia a se pigritudine [*lege, pigritudinis*] sompnum excutens, secundum beati Petri Apostoli doctrinam, incepit in orationibus vigilare.” MS. Coll. Wint.

“ Non est igitur postponendum, quod in hac ætate frequentare ecclesiam dulce habuit, crebrius orationi incumbere, sacris missarum interesse solempniis. Verum & specialem devotionem habuit ad beatam Dei Genetricem, ob cujus honorem sæpius visitavit ecclesiam Sancti Swythuni, coram ymagine ejusdem tunc posita in quadam columpna ejusdem ecclesiæ
“ genibus

been an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, with her image standing above it: at this altar a mass used to be celebrated every morning, which seems to have been a favourite one, and much frequented, at the time when Wykeham was a boy, and at school at Winchester; for it had gotten a particular name among the people, and was called **Pekismasse**, from the name of a Monk of the Convent, who usually officiated in it. Young Wykeham was constant in his daily attendance, and fervent in his devotions, at this Mass. He seems even then to have chosen the Blessed Virgin as his peculiar patroness, to have placed himself under her protection, and in a manner to have dedicated himself to her service: and probably he might ever after

“ genibus flexis eam humiliter deprecans, ut suis precibus ad talem statum mereretur assumi, ut non solum ipsam, sed filium ejus Jesum Christum in Ecclesia militante dignius honoraret.” *Tractatus in Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint.*

“ Cujus corpus jacet tumulatum in oratorio Beate Mariæ Virginis in navi Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wynton. quod ipse superstes in honorem ejusdem Virginis fieri ordinavit. In quo ad minus tres missæ speciales pro anima ejusdem patris, parentum & benefactorum suorum, ac omnium fidelium defunctorum, cotidie celebrantur.” *Ibid.*

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imagine himself indebted to her especial favour for the various successes, which he was blessed with through his life. This seems to have been the reason of his dedicating to her his two Colleges, and calling them by her name; over all the principal gates of which he has been careful to have himself represented as her votary, in the act of adoration to the Blessed Virgin, as his and their common guardian. And this it was that determined the situation of his chantry. He erected his Chapel in the very place, where he had been used to perform his daily devotions in his younger days; between the two pillars, against one of which stood the altar above mentioned. He dedicated the Chapel to the Blessed Virgin; the altar was continued in the same place as before, and probably the very same image was erected above it: which, with the other ornaments of the same kind, both within the Chapel and without, was destroyed in the last century, by the zeal of modern enthusiasm, exerting itself with a blind and indiscreet rage against all the venerable and beautiful monuments, whether of antient piety or superstition.

The

The Bishop * ordered his body to be deposited in the middle of this Chapel, and a little before his death, he himself, by agreement with the Prior and Convent, directed the services, which were to be perpetually performed in it, in the following † manner.

The Prior and Convent, in consideration of a benefaction made to them by the Bishop of about the yearly value of twenty marks ; and likewise in consideration of his having at a great expence, in a most decent and handsome manner, rebuilt from the foundations his and their Cathedral Church of Winchester, and given to it a great number of vestments and other ornaments ; as also in gratitude for many other favours and benefits most generously conferred upon them by him ; being desirous, to the utmost of their ability, to compensate with spiritual goods the many benefits both temporal and spiritual received from him, engage for themselves and their successors to perform for ever the following services for the health of his

* See Appendix, N^o XVII.

† Ibid. N^o XVI.

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soul, and of the souls of his parents and benefactors. In the first place, in the Chapel in the nave of the Church, where the Bishop has chosen to be buried, three masses shall be celebrated daily, for him and his benefactors particularly, by the Monks of the Convent: ' the first mass *De Sancta Maria*, early in the morning throughout the year; the two other masses, later in the morning, at tierce or at sixth hour, either *De Sanctis*, or *De temporalibus*, as the devotion of the persons officiating shall incline them: in each of which masses the collect *Rege quæsumus* shall be said during the Bishop's life for his good estate, and the prayer *Deus cui proprium*, for the souls of his parents and benefactors. After the Bishop's decease, instead of the collect *Rege quæsumus*, shall be said the prayer, *Deus qui inter Apostolicos*, for the Bishop, and for him only. The Prior is to pay to each of these Monks every day one penny. The Sacrist is to provide for them bread, wine, book, chalice, vestments, candles for the altar, palls, and all other necessaries and ornaments. They

* See the Roman Missal, Breviary, Hours, &c.

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moreover engage, that the charity boys of the Priory shall every night for ever sing at the said Chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary the anthem *Salve Regina*, or *Ave Regina*, and after it say the Psalm *De profundis*, with the prayer *Fidelium*, or *Inclina*, for the souls of the father and mother of the Bishop, and for his soul after his decease, and for the souls of all the faithful deceased: for which the Prior is to pay to the Almoner yearly on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin six shillings and eight pence for the use of the said boys. It is farther ordered, that the Monks of the Convent in Priest's orders shall be appointed weekly to the performance of these services in a table by course; and that, if any one so appointed shall by sudden infirmity or otherwise be hindred from officiating, he shall give notice to the Prior or his substitute, who shall nominate another to supply his place. This engagement of the Prior and Convent is dated the 16th of August, 1404.

Thus Wykeham, having finally settled all his temporal and spiritual concerns, and being about this time full eighty years
of

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of age; with much piety and resignation waited the hour of his dissolution. He seems to have sunk by a gentle and gradual decay. Tho' weak in body, he retained all the faculties of his mind to the last. Even ^a since he had taken his Coadjutors to his assistance, he had still personally attended and directed his affairs both public and private, as he used to do before; admitting all persons, that had business to transact with him, to his upper chamber. This practice he was able to continue at least till within four days of his death. He died at South Waltham, on ¹ Saturday the 27th day of September, about eight o'clock in the morning, in the year 1404.

He was buried, according to his directions, in his own Oratory, in the Cathedral Church of Winchester. His funeral was attended by a great concourse of people of all sorts; many, as we may well suppose, being drawn thither by their affection to him, and regard for his memory; and great numbers, as we may be fully assured,

^a Regist. Wykeham.

¹ Tractat. & Titulus Testamenti, in Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint.

of the poorer sort coming to partake of the alms still reached out to them by the same munificent hand, that had so long been continually open to relieve their wants. For † he had ordered by his will, that in whatever place he should happen to die, and through whatever places his body should be carried, between the place of his death and the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in all these places to every poor tenant, that had held of him there as Bishop of Winchester, should be given, to pray for his soul, four pence; and to every other poor person asking alms, two pence, or one penny at least, according to the discretion of his executors: and that on the day of his burial, to every poor person coming to Winchester, and asking alms for the love of God and for the health of his soul, should be given four pence.

I shall here proceed to give a summary account of the other legacies, benefactions, and charities, bequeathed by him in his will †.

To the poor in the prisons of Newgate London, the Marshalsey, Wolvesey, Winchester, Oxford, Berkshire, Guil-

† See Appendix, N° XVII.

† See Appendix, Ibid.

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ford, Old and New Sarum, he ordered to be distributed the sum of two hundred pounds. This was one of those charitable bequests, which he anticipated in his lifetime. He likewise lived to see his building of the Church of Winchester in a manner finished, for which he had also made provision by his will.

To the King he bequeaths a pair of silver basons gilt, and remits to him a debt⁶ of five hundred pounds.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Arundel,) and to his successor in the Bishoprick of Winchester, several legacies in jewels, plate, and books. To the Bishop of London (Robert Braybroke,) his large silk bed and furniture in the best

⁶ The Bishop of Winchester lent the King 400 l. on the 1st of July 1402. The money was to be paid on Christmas day following; and for the Bishop's security the King put into his hands certain jewels, giving him leave to sell them, and pay himself, if the money should not be paid at the time agreed on. Rym. Fœd. Vol. 8. p. 267. The executors of William of Wykeham late Bishop of Winchester petition the Council for payment of debts due from the King to the said Bishop: viz. 350 l. over and above 500 l. remitted to the King by his will, and 1000 l. the debt of Richard the Second due by letters patent. MS. Rym. Hen. 4th, Vol. 2d, N^o 166.

chamber of his palace at Winchester, with the whole suit of tapestry hangings in the same apartment.

To the Church of Winchester, his new rich vestment of blue cloth, embroidered with gold, with thirty copes of the same with gold fringes; a pyx of beril for the hoste; and a cross of gold with reliques of the true cross.

To the Prior of Winchester, plate to the value of twenty pounds; and to every Monk of the Convent⁷, being Priests, five marks; and to every one of them in lower orders, forty shillings, to pray for his soul.

To his College in Oxford, his Mitre, Crosier⁸, Dalmatics, and Sandals.

To his College at Winchester, another Mitre, the Bible⁹ which he commonly used, and several other books.

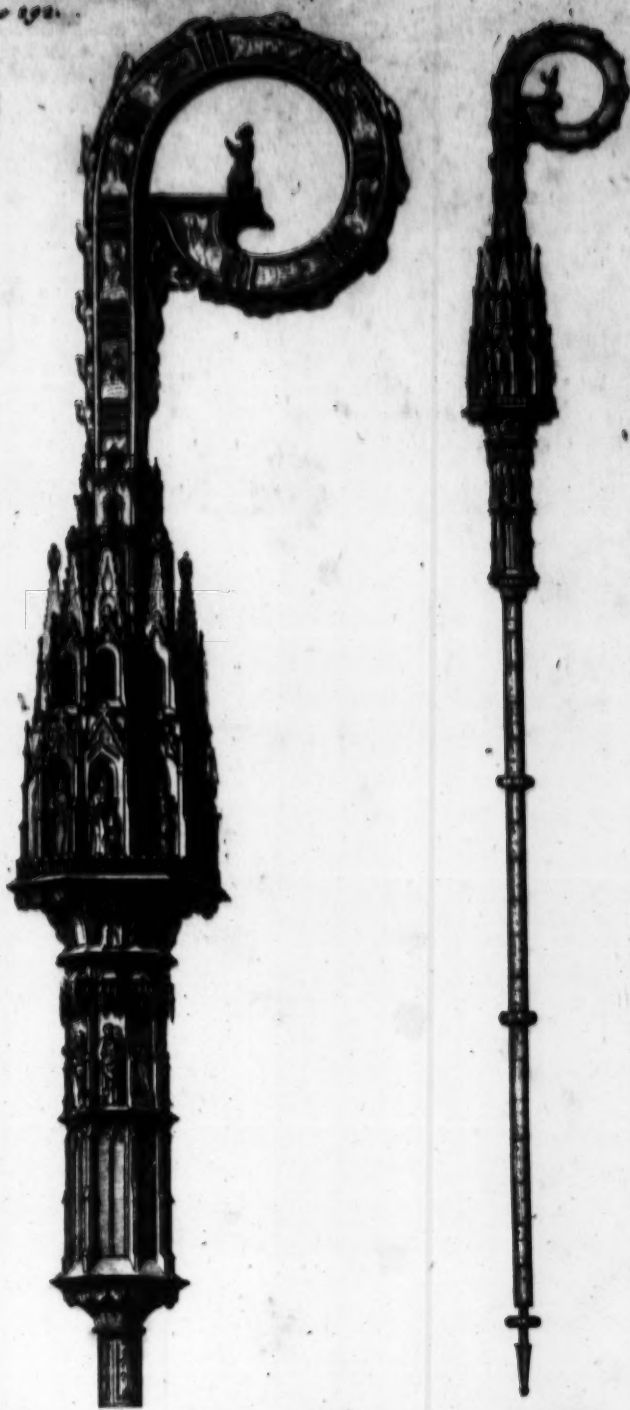
To each of the Wardens of his Colleges, ten marks; and plate to the value of twenty

⁷ The Convent consisted of a Prior and forty-two Monks. Leger-book of the Church of Wint. N^o 1. fol. 20.

⁸ See the Plate annexed.

⁹ "Biblia cum clapsulis de argento deaurat. ex legato Domini Fundatoris. Pret. viii. marc." Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint.

To face page 292.



Baculus Pastoralis Wittmi de Wykeham Epi Wintoniensi in Museo Coll.
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marks; the latter to be transmitted to their successors.

To every Fellow, Chaplain, and Scholar, of his College in Oxford, from twenty six shillings and eight pence, to thirteen shillings and four pence, according to their orders and degrees; and ten pounds to be divided between the Clerks, Choristers, and Servants.

To the Schoolmaster of Winchester College, five pounds; to each of the Fellows, twenty-six shillings and eight pence; to the Usher, and each of the Chaplains, twenty shillings; to each of the Scholars, six shillings and eight pence; and ten marks to be divided between the Clerks, Choristers, and Servants.

To the fabrick of the Church of Sarum, twenty pounds, for the celebration of his exequies on the day of his obit, and on the thirtieth day after his death, by the Canons and Ministers of the said Church.

To the Abbot of Hyde, a piece of gilt plate, value ten pounds; to every one of the Monks of the same Monastery, being Priests, forty shillings; and to every one of them in lower orders, twenty shillings, to pray for his soul.

To the Abbess of the Monastery of St. Mary Winton, five marks; and to every one of the Nuns ^o, thirteen shillings and four pence.

To the Prior and Convent of St. Mary Overy Suthwerk, for the repair of their Church, and to pray for his soul, forty pounds, being a debt remitted.

To the Abbot and Convent of Waverly, ten pounds, to pray for his soul.

To the Abby of Tichefield, one pair of vestments, and a chalice.

To the Prior and Convent of Tanton, one hundred marks, to pray for his soul.

To the Abbess of the Monastery of Nuns at Romesey, five marks: to Felicia Aas, a Nun of the same Monastery, five pounds: and to each of the other Nuns, thirteen shillings and four pence.

To the Abbess and Convent of the same Monastery, for the repair of their Church and Cloyster, a debt of forty pounds remitted.

To the fabrick of the parish Church of Romesey, twenty marks.

^o There were **xxi** Nuns at the dissolution. Tanner. Notit. Monast.

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To the Abbess and Convent of Wherewell, to pray for his soul, twenty marks.

To the Prior and Convent of St. Denis Southampton, for the repair of their Church, twenty marks.

To the Priorefs and Convent of Wyntene, to pray for his soul, ten pounds.

To the Priory and Convent of Taurigge, to pray for his soul, five pounds.

To be distributed among the brethren, and sisters, and poor, of the Hospital of St. Thomas Suthwerk, to pray for his soul, ten marks.

To the Hospital of St. Cross near Winchester, one pair of vestments, with a chalice, and one pair of silver basons.

To the Hospital of St. Nicholas at Portemouth, one pair of vestments, with a chalice.

To the Church of St. Mary Southampton, one pair of vestments, with a chalice.

To the College of St. Elizabeth, (Winton) a pair of silver basons, and two silver cups, for the use of the high altar.

To the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene near Winchester, for the repair of the Church and houses belonging to it, five pounds.

To the Sisters of the Hospital of the Almonry of the Church of St. Swythun, forty shillings, to be equally divided between them, to pray for his soul.

To each of the Churches of Hameldon and Eastmeone, one service-book with notes, of those belonging to his own Chapel, and one chalice.

To each of five Churches of his patronage, one intire vestment, namely for priest, deacon, and subdeacon, with a cope, and one chalice.

To each of five others likewise, one cope of those belonging to his Chapel, and one chalice.

To each of the Convents of the four orders of Mendicant Friars in the city of Winchester, ten marks, to pray for his soul.

To fifteen of his kindred, for themselves and for the children also of some of them, from one hundred to twenty pounds a piece, in the whole eight hundred twenty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence.

To Selote Purbyk, ten pounds.

To each of the chief Justices, a ring to the value of five pounds.

To

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To Mr. William Hengford, a ring of gold, or one table diamond, to the value of five pounds.

To Mr. Robert Faryngton, a psalter, and a pair of beads.

To John Uvedale, and Henry Popham, (Esqrs.) each of them a silver cup or jewel, to the value of ten marks.

To John Chamflour, Nicholas Bray, and Stephen Carre, each of them a cup or jewel, to the value of five pounds.

To Mr. William Savage, Rector of Overton, twenty pounds.

To Dr. John Keton, Precentor of the Church of Southampton, twenty pounds.

And other legacies, in plate or money, to be distributed to the persons named in a roll, annexed to the will, and sealed with his seal, according to the directions therein contained. The number of the persons, being others of his friends, and his officers, and servants, of all degrees whatsoever, is above one hundred and fifty; and the value of these legacies in the whole amounts to near one thousand pounds. All these he discharged in his lifetime, and had the pleasure of distributing with his own hands.

He

He appoints Robert (Braybroke,) Bishop of London, Dr. Nicholas Wykeham (Archdeacon of Wilts,) Dr. John Elmere (his Official General,) Dr. John Campeden (Archdeacon of Surry,) Thomas Chelrey, Steward of the lands of the Bishoprick, Thomas Wykeham, his great-nephew and heir, and Dr. Thomas Ayleward Rector of Havont, to be his executors. To whom he bequeaths one thousand pounds in recompence for their trouble in the administration of his will, to be equally divided among those of them only, who should take upon them that charge.

The residue of his goods he leaves to be disposed of by his executors for the health and remedy of his soul, (that is, to pious and charitable uses,) faithfully and conscientiously, as they shall answer it at the last day.

The whole value of the bequests of his will amounts to between six and seven thousand pounds; the indeterminate condition of several articles making it impossible to reduce it to an exact estimation.

He

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He ¹ had before put Sir Thomas Wykeham his heir into possession of manors and estates to the value of six hundred marks a year; and ² he deposited in the hands of the Warden and Scholars of New College one hundred pounds for the defence of his title to the said estates, to be kept by them, and to be applied to no other use whatever, for twenty years after the Bishop's decease; after which term, the whole, or remainder, not so applied, was to be freely delivered to Sir Thomas Wykeham, or his heirs.

As there are several other instances of Wykeham's munificence and charity, which I have not had occasion to mention before, I shall recite them here in the order in which they happen to occur.

At ³ his first entrance upon the Bishoprick of Winchester, he remitted to his poor tenants certain acknowledgments, usually paid and due by custom, to the amount of ⁴ five hundred and two pounds one shilling and seven pence.

To

¹ MS. Coll. Wint.

² Ex Originali Indentura in Archivis Coll. Wint.

³ MS. Coll. Wint.

⁴ " *Recognicio tenencium Episcopatus Wynton. fol-
vend. in primo adventu cujuslibet Episcopi: vide-
licet,*

" De

To ⁵ several Officers of the Bishoprick, who were grown poor and become objects of his liberality, he at different times remitted sums due to him, to the amount of two thousand marks.

He ⁶ paid for his tenants three several times the subsidies granted to the King by Parliament.

In ⁷ the year 1377, out of his mere good will and liberality he discharged the whole debts of the Prior and Convent of Selborne, to the amount of one hundred

" De Taunton & Rympton c libr. xxxij s. viij d.

" De Dounton xliij libr. xv s. viij d.

" De Twyford xlj libr. xij s.

" De Waltham xxxij libr. xij s. iiij d.

" De Meones lv libr. xij s. iiij d.

" De Sutton xxxj libr. xix s. x d.

" De Farnham xxxiiij libr. xvj s. viij d.

" De Clera xxxviiij libr. xij. denar.

" De Wytteneye lxix libr. vij solid.

" Item de Ivynghe & Wergrave lij libr. x s.

" Sum. total. Dii lib. xix denar."

MS. penes Dom. Episc. Wint. fol. 122.

The exact agreement of this MS. with MS. Coll. Wint. in this particular, shews the authority of the latter MS.; and confirms what I had before said of it, (Pref 1st Edit.) that the writer of it had access to the accounts of Wykeham's stewards, and that it is the most authentic account of him that is extant.

⁵ MS. Coll. Wint.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 209:

and

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and ten marks, eleven shillings, and six pence: and ⁸ a few years before he died, he made a free gift to the same Priory of one hundred marks. On which accounts, the Prior and Convent voluntarily engaged for the celebration of two masses a day by two Canons of the Convent for ten years, for the Bishop's welfare, if he should live so long, and for his soul, if he should die before the expiration of that term.

From ⁹ the time of his being made Bishop of Winchester he abundantly provided for a certain number of poor, twenty four at the least, every day; not only feeding them, but also distributing money among them to supply their necessities of every kind.

He ¹ continually employed his friends, and those that attended upon him, to seek out the properest objects of his charity; to search after those whose modesty would not yield to their distresses, nor suffer them to apply for relief; to go to the houses

⁸ Ibid. fol. 188.

⁹ MS. Coll. Wint. & Tractat. in Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint.

¹ Ibid.

of the sick and needy, and to inform themselves particularly of their several calamities : and his beneficence administered largely to all their wants. He supported the infirm, he relieved the distressed, he fed the hungry, and he clothed the naked.

To ² the poor Friars of the orders subsisting on charity he was always very liberal. His hospitality was large, constant, and universal: his house was open to all, and frequented by the rich and great, in proportion as it was crowded by the poor and indigent.

He ³ was ever attentive and compassionate to such as were imprisoned for debt; he inquired into their circumstances, compounded with their creditors, and procured their release. In this article of charity he expended three thousand marks.

² Ibid. I meet with the following casual instance of his liberality in this way, in Rot. Comp. Coll. Nov. anni 1377. "Item in distributione facta quattuor ordinibus fratrum mendicantium Oxon. de elemosina Domini, xlii. lib. xix s. præcepto Domini: viz. fratribus Prædicatoribus lxx s. Minoribus ciii s. Carmelitæ lvii s. & Augustinensibus xlix s. & sic viz. omnibus fratribus in villa Oxon. prædict. xlii d." It appears from hence, that there were at this time in the city of Oxford 279 Mendicant Friars.

³ MS. Coll. Wint.

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The ⁴ roads between London and Winchester, and in many other places, when they were very bad, and almost impassable, he repaired and amended; making causeys, and building bridges, at a vast expence.

He ⁵ repaired a great number of Churches of his diocese, which were gone to decay; and moreover furnished them, not only in a decent, but even in a splendid manner, with books, vestments, chalices, and other ornaments. In this way he bestowed one hundred and thirteen silver chalices, and one hundred pair of vestments: so that the articles of this kind, few in comparison, which we find in his will, were only intended by way of supplement to what he had done in his lifetime; that such of the Churches of his patronage, which he had not had occasion to consider before as objects of his liberality, might not however seem to be wholly neglected by him.

Besides all this, he ⁶ purchased estates to the value of two hundred marks a year in addition to the demesne lands of the Bishoprick of Winchester, that he might leave

⁴ Ibid. & Tractat. in Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ MS. Coll. Wint.

there

there memorials of his munificence in every kind.

Tho' the other ornaments of his oratory are destroyed, yet his monument remains there intire and unhurt to this day. It is of white marble, of very elegant workmanship, considering the time, with his effigies in his pontifical robes lying along upon it; and on a plate of brass, running round the edge of the upper table of it, is the following inscription in Latin verse, of the style of that age.

*Wilhelmus dictus Wykeham jacet hic nece victus:
Istius ecclesiae praesul, reparabit eamque.
Largus erat, dapifer; probat hoc cum disbite
pauper:*

*Consiliis pariter regni fuerat bene dexter.
Hunc docet esse piū fundatio Collegiorum:
Oxoniae primum stat, Wintoniaeque secundum.
Iugiter oretis, tumulum quicumque videtis,
Pro tantis meritis ut sit tibi vita perennis.*

T H E
L I F E
O F
WILLIAM of WYKEHAM.

SECTION IX.

An Examination and Confutation of several things, that have been published to his discredit.

I Shall not attempt to form any other character of this great man, than what necessarily arises out of the facts already related, and from the whole tenor of his public life and actions, which I have endeavoured fairly to exhibit from undoubted evidences, without disguise or amplification,

X

plification. Whatever other picture of him I should pretend to set forth, it could only be looked upon as the work of mere imagination; there being now no original drawing extant, sufficient to furnish out a complete piece, and to justify a higher colouring and more perfect finishing of a copy taken from it. The peculiar and distinguishing characters of men are much better conceived, and more accurately marked, from little circumstances and incidents in private life, than from a long series of actions in a public station: these may raise in us a high idea of a great and good man, and strike us with a distant admiration of his abilities and his virtues; but 'tis by the former that we are introduced to his acquaintance, that we learn his particular turn, his temper, his humours, his failings, as well as his amiable qualities, and become in a manner intimate and familiar with him. I must acknowledge with much regret, that very few particulars relating to the private and domestic part of Wykeham's character are transmitted down to us. The writers of that age are very few, and they have given us but a short and imperfect account even
of

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of the most important facts : such of them, whom we may suppose to have had a nearer and perhaps a personal knowledge of him, which is the only foundation upon which the credit we give to more minute and circumstantial informations can safely be built, have done very little towards gratifying our curiosity in this respect.

However, not to omit whatever may be advanced upon reasonable evidence, we find him in his early youth distinguished for his piety and his diligence ; raising himself from a low condition by his abilities, his industry, and his fidelity ; meriting the regard and encouragement of several worthy and eminent patrons ; and at length raised to the highest stations by the favour of two of the greatest men that this nation has to boast of, Edward the Third and his son the Prince of Wales. We may well conclude from the constant course and quick progress of his rising fortune, that he was not deficient in any of those accomplishments, that generally lay open and smooth the way to success in the world : that he was a man of lively parts, of an engaging address, and an agreeable

greeable conversation; and that he had in a great degree that sort of natural penetration, which, assisted with some experience, is necessary to the attainment of a ready and sure knowledge of men and things. It is almost needless to observe, that one, who was possessed with such a spirit of universal benevolence, must have been the best of masters, the kindest and most generous patron, the most constant and affectionate friend: but all this we are not left to deduce by consequence; we have evident proofs of the largeness and warmth of his heart in every instance of this kind: we find ' the list of his friends, his officers, his domestics, almost invariably the same; all receiving in their turns testimonies of his favour, and rewards of their services; never leaving him, nor ever deserted by him.

As to his public character he may be considered in two lights; as a Statesman, and as a Benefactor.

His genius for business was strong and universal: he was endowed by nature with a great capacity, and his industry

* Regist. Wykeham. & Appendix. N^o. XVII.

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had furnished him with a large stock of acquired qualifications, for the management of all sorts of affairs; with a just theory of Law in all its branches, of the Canon, the Civil, and Common Law; and a perfect knowledge of the languages, and the forms, which were made use of in practice. The monuments which remain of his acts in this kind discover throughout evident marks of uncommon abilities; of a clear and exact comprehension of things, and the greatest care and precision in the execution. His skill in architecture seems to have been only one part of that various treasure of useful knowledge, which he had laid up in store for occasional application, and not the main fund upon which he proposed to raise his fortune: his first employments were of a very different kind, and he struck into this, as a fair opportunity offered, prompted by the impulse of a ready genius, and the consciousness of his own sufficiency for the undertaking. The same apt and pliable genius turned itself to state affairs, with the same ease, and with equal success. Edward the Third's opinion of him was fully justified: he proved an able, vigilant,

lent, indefatigable, and honest Minister; and at the same time that he advanced daily in his master's favour, he grew in the esteem of the public. While ^a he pursued with zeal and fidelity the interests of the King, he did not forget or disregard the ease and happiness of the people; but was their constant advocate, and, as far as the necessities of the state would permit, always preserved them from exactions ³ and oppressions. In ⁵ matters of doubt and difficulty he had a penetrating and a sound judgement: he was easy of access, open and chearful in conversation, and ready in his answers to all that applied to him: his words were not unmeaning and evasive, but his performances were always answerable to his professions, and his actions kept pace with his pro-

². "Totoque tempore sui regiminis, tam temporibus Edwardi quam Ricardi, ipsorum utrique obsequiosus extitit & fidelis; ac populo regni favorabilis & plurimum gratosus, ipsum a subsidiis & exactionibus ac aliis oppressionibus præservans continue." MS. Coll. Wint

³. "Erat consultus in ambiguis; in responsis promptus. alacer, affabilis; nec erat ejus sermo sterilis, nec otiosus; quem commendabat laudabilis verborum & operum comitatus." Tractat. in Vet. Regist. Coll. Wint. & Brev. Chron.

mises.

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mises. When he saw his two great friends, Edward the Third and the Prince of Wales, both together evidently declining and dying, and the whole power devolving into other hands, he had the courage, honour, and gratitude, to exert himself in behalf of those who could not protect him, in opposition to those who would in all probability soon have it in their power to destroy him: and this, as he must have foreseen, in effect brought upon him that malicious attack of his enemies, which served only in the end to shew, that his integrity could stand the severest trial, and abide the strictest scrutiny; and to produce for the satisfaction of posterity those public testimonies of his honesty and uprightness, which we should otherwise have wanted. 'Tis not to be wondered, that such experience of unmerited persecution should teach him a lesson of caution, and make him steady in the practice of it, in times of yet greater difficulty; when that uniform conduct of prudence and moderation, which from thenceforth distinguishes his public character, became equally expedient for the safety of his King and country, and for his own security.

We frequently hear of men, who by the force of their genius, by their industry, or by their good fortune, have raised themselves from the lowest stations, to the highest degrees of honour, power, and wealth: but how seldom do we meet with those, who have made a proper use of the advantages which they have thus happily acquired, and considered them as deposited in their hands by providence for the general benefit of mankind? In this respect Wykeham stands an uncommon and almost singular example of generosity and public spirit. By the time that he had reached the meridian of life, he had acquired great wealth; and the remainder of his days he employed, not in increasing it to no reasonable end, but in bestowing it in every way, that piety, charity, and liberality, could devise. The latter half of a long life he spent in one continued series of generous actions and great designs, for the good of his friends, of the poor, and of his country. His beneficence was ever vigilant, active, and persevering: it was not only ready to answer when opportunity called, but sought it out when it did not offer itself. No man seems to have tasted
more

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more sensibly the pleasure of doing good; and no man had ever a greater share of this exquisite enjoyment. The foundation of his Colleges, the principal monuments of his munificence, was as well calculated for the real use of the public, and as judiciously planned, as it was nobly and generously executed. Whatever Wykeham's attainments in letters were, he had at least the good sense to see, that the Clergy, tho' they had almost engrossed the whole learning of that age, yet were very deficient in real and useful knowledge: besides that by the particular distresses of the times, and the havoc that several successive plagues had made in all ranks of the people, but especially among the Clergy, the Church was at a loss for a proper supply of such as were tolerably qualified for the performance of the common service. It was not vanity and ostentation that suggested this design to him; he was prompted to it by the notorious exigence of the times, and the real demands of the public. The deliberation with which he entered upon it, and the constant attention with which he pursued it for above thirty years, shews how much he set his heart upon the success

cess of his undertaking, and how earnestly he endeavoured to secure the effectual attainment of the end proposed, the promotion of true piety and learning. In a word, as he was in his own time a general blessing to his Country, in which his bounty was freely imparted to every object, that could come within the reach of his influence; so the memory of this great man merits the universal regard of posterity, as of one, whose pious and munificent designs were directed to the general good of mankind, and were extended to the latest ages.

It is not to be wondered, that a man, who had met with such uncommon success, and who had been raised from a low condition of life to the most eminent stations, should in the height of his fortune have become an object of envy, and have excited the malice of rivals and enemies. Motives of this kind may well be supposed to have had a secondary influence in the persecution, that was once raised against him; and to have blown up the flame, that faction had first kindled. This however was but of short continuance, and fell to the ground with the political cause that
gave

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gave rise to it. Wykeham had the happiness, a very uncommon one with fallen statesmen, even at the time that he was borne down by the power of his enemies, still to retain his popularity; and he lived many years afterwards in an uninterrupted possession of the love and esteem of the public. But that one of his beneficent and amiable character, whose generosity and public spirit had been so universal, and was still extended to posterity, should in after ages, and at a time when envy and faction are commonly silent and extinct, be loaded with imputations, as false and groundless, as they are scandalous and malicious; this must be looked upon as a singular hardship, and may justly raise both our surprise and indignation. Yet such has been Wykeham's uncommon lot. The causes and motives, which have given birth to these imputations, and the means, by which they have been nursed up, and sent abroad into the world, though very obscure, I shall here endeavour to trace out, and lay before the reader, with as much exactness and perspicuity as I am able: and this inquiry I have chosen to reserve to this place, where without interrupting other

other matters, I might pursue it more minutely, in order to give him the fuller satisfaction.

The sole foundation of most of the imputations, which have prevailed to the disadvantage of Wykeham's character, and which have found place in many of our histories, appears to have been a paper containing short notes relating to him, which came into the hands of that learned and industrious antiquary, the famous Mr. John Leland.

As Leland was very diligent in collecting every thing that was curious relating to our histories and antiquities, he transcribed these notes, and entered them in his common-place book, among several other transcripts and extracts from different manuscripts. A copy of this common-place book of Leland, transcribed from that in his own hand-writing, is extant in the Bodleian library: Mr. Hearne has published it, and it makes the appendix to the fourth volume of Leland's Itinerary.

That Leland was not the author of these notes, but that he only took a copy of them, and set them down in his common-place book, is not only probable from the remaining

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remaining contents of the book, which consist intirely of transcripts from different authors, unless you will except one copy of a letter of his own; but moreover appears evidently from another transcript of the same notes, which is preserved in the Cotton Library, and which has a Title prefixed giving us the name of the Author: they are called Dr. London's Report. I shall here insert the Report, with the Title and Marginal Remarks added to it, as it stands in the Cotton Manuscript; supplying at the same time such variations of the Bodleian Copy as are material.

* MS. Biblioth. Cotton. Julius. C. 6.

" Doctor London his reporte, but not
" true."

" William Wi-	1. " William Perote, alias
" kam Bischoppe	" Willim, [Wikam, MS.
" of Winchef-	" Bodl.] because hee was
" ter."	" borne at Wikam in Hamp-
" All this is not	" shire. Some suppose that
" true."	" he was a Bastard. dno anno 1404."

[Instead

* N. B. In MS. Cotton. the Report itself, the Title, and Marginal Notes, are all in the same hand-writing; not Leland's, but copied from him. In the beginning of the MS. where the Contents of the whole volume are set down, the Report is thus intituled: " A scandalous report concerning Wickam Bishop of Winchester."

The

[Instead of "dno anno 1404" MS. Bodl. hath, "Perot the Parish-clerk's son of Wikam."]

2. "Perrot brought up by Mr. Wodale of Wikam learned gramar, and to writte fayre."

3. "The Constable of Winchester Castle, at that time a great ruler in Hampshire, got Perote of Wodale, and made him his Clerk."

4. ["Edward the 3d coming to Winchester Castle liked Perot, and took him to service" MS. Bodl. This article is omitted in the Cotton MS. by mistake of the transcriber, as it seems; the two next articles beginning with the same words.]

5. "Edward the third, understanding that Perote had mynd to be preste, made him first person of St. Martynes in London, and Dean of St. Martynes in London, and then Archedeacon of Buckingham."

6. "Edward the 3 made him Surveiier of his Buildings, as of Windfore, and Quinboroughe in Kent, and other buildings."

The Contents are in a different hand from that of the Report, and the rest of the Volume itself.

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7. " Then Edward made him berer of
" the privie seale, master of the Wards and
" the Forests."

8. " Wikam was tresorer for the reve-
" nues of France."

9. " Then he made him bishope of
" Winchester, Chanselor and Tresorer of
" England, as it verye manifestlye appear-
" ithe by writtinge."

10. " The Black Prince seant favored
" Wikam."

11. Wikam procured to kepe the Prince
" in battaile out of the realme."

12. " John of Gaunt Duke of Lancas-
" ter enemye to Wikam."

13. " Alice Perers, concubine to Ed-
" ward the 3d, caused Wikam to be ba-
" nished, and then he dwelled
" Non credo." " in Normandye and Picardye
" a [about] 7 yeres, Edward the third yet
" lyving."

14. " Wickam restored about the 2
" yere of Richard the second, of whom he
" had a general pardon."

The volume in which these notes are
found in the Cotton Library, consists ' like-

^s See the Contents of it in Smith's Catalogue of the
Cotton Library.

wife of Collections relating to our history, made by the same Leland from antient authors. These notes then, as they stand in the Cotton Manuscript, are still a part of Leland's Collections; and by the Title and Marginal Remarks, here added to them, it appears, that Leland knew them to be Dr. London's, and that he was well apprised of their being for the most part false and groundless. It is indeed very probable, that Leland had them from Dr. London, to whom he might apply, as to a person who by his station had the best opportunity of giving him information, for some account of Wykeham: and that having received this account from him, which one so well versed in our history must immediately see was full of falsities, he not only noted the author, but expressed his opinion and judgement of his report in the title and marginal remarks added to it.

The reader is by this time ready to inquire, who this Dr. London is; and will no doubt be surpris'd, when he is inform'd, that Dr. London, the author and propagator of all this scandal upon Wykeham, was one who owed his education and subsistence to Wykeham's bounty, and had the

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the honour of being at the head of the principal of his two Societies, being Warden of New College in Oxford, at the time when Leland was employed in making his Collections. If it is farther demanded, with what design, and from what motive, he could give so dishonourable, as well as so absurd an account of his great Benefactor, I am wholly at a loss for an answer to the question, and know not whether to charge it to his malice or his ignorance. All I can do towards the clearing up of this matter, is to give the history and character of Dr. London, as I find it recorded on good authority; that any one, who is desirous of satisfying himself of the degree of credit that is due to his testimony, may have some ground to go upon in forming his judgement.

John London was admitted of New College in the year 1505; became L. L. B. in 1512, and L. L. D. in 1518. He was about this time Canon of York and Lincoln, and Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Warham. He was elected Warden of New College in 1526; was Vicar of Abberbury; (both which last preferments he resigned in 1542;) and Prebendary of Shipton in the

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Church

Church of Sarum: afterwards he became Canon of Windsor, Dean of Osney, (1542) and of the Collegiate Chapel of Wallingford Berks. After the death of Warham in 1532, he insinuated himself into the good graces of Cromwell, and was much employed by him in the suppression of monasteries; he was one of the Visitors, and acted with great zeal in the removing of Images and Reliques. After the fall of Cromwell, he as dexterously made his court to Gardiner Bishop of Winchester; and to compensate for what he had done before, he offered his most zealous services to him, and became his instrument and under-agent in all his measures. He was the person principally employed by him in contriving and carrying on the plot to destroy Cranmer: but the apparent malice and falshood of the accusation brought against the good Archbishop induced the King to take him under his protection. At the same time he was engaged in another scheme of the same kind, and under the same director: he made it his business, in conjunction with one Symonds a Lawyer, to procure evidence against several persons in Windsor, who were suspected of favouring the Reformation;

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formation; and he laid his informations before Gardiner; on which three persons were convicted upon the Six Articles, and burnt. However he and his associate were not satisfied with this success: their plot was carried still farther, and aimed at several very considerable persons of the Court; but was discovered before all their measures were concerted. They were apprehended, and charged with it; and being put to their oaths denied it. Their own hand-writing was then produced against them: and being thus convicted of Perjury, they were adjudged to be carried on horse-back through Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with their faces to the horses tails, and then to stand in the pillory in the same places; which was executed accordingly. This disgrace sunk so deep in the heart of Dr. London, that he died soon after in the Fleet prison, in the year 1543⁶.

Tho' I doubt not but that every competent judge must be fully satisfied, upon the first reading of this Report, of its inaccuracy in general, and of the apparent falsehood of many particulars in it; and that,

⁶ Fox: A. Wood. Strype. Burnet.

with regard to some points more obscure and doubtful, very little credit will be thought due to an author, who has been so egregiously mistaken in others, where the truth was so easily to be found; yet I think it necessary to enter into a brief examination of the several articles of it, and to point out distinctly, what is true, false, or doubtful in each, with the degree of evidence, with which the truth or falshood of the particulars is proved.

1. Nothing can be more certain than that Wykeham's family-name was not Perot; tho' Leland himself, misled by this informant, was of that opinion. This author does not affirm, that he was a Bastard; he only says, that some suppose it: however it does not at all appear, that it ever was supposed by any one, before this insinuation of his was published. It is hardly worth while to go about to confute such a surmise not supported by the least evidence; it deserves no other notice than a bare denial of the truth of it: but that it is absolutely false, is in the highest degree probable, from the account given of his Parents, and of the number of his relations both by the Father's and the Mother's

side

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fide from undoubted authorities. I shall only add, that if Wykeham was a Bastard,⁷ he could not have been admitted to any Orders without a dispensation from his Diocesan, nor to Holy Orders without a dispensation from the Pope: the former must have been granted to him by Edyngdon Bishop of Winchester before he ordained him Accolite, and the latter must have been tendered to the same in order to his being ordained by him Subdeacon; and both would regularly have been entered in his Register: yet no traces of any such dispensation in either case are to be found there. What is added in the Bodleian Manuscript, "Perot the parish Clerk's son of Wikam," is of the same kind; manifestly false in one particular, for his Father's name was not Perot, and that either Perot, or his Father, was parish Clerk of Wickham, is neither proved by any evidence, nor favoured by any tradition.

2, 3, and 4. In these articles the Report differs from all the authors that wrote nearest to Wykeham's time: they mention not Wodale, or Uvedale, by name; but

⁷ See Appendix, N^o XVIII.

⁸ I. Cabassutii Juris Canonici Theoria & Praxis. lib. 2. cap. 9. sect. 2.

from their account, and from a tradition that still prevails, Uvedale is supposed to have been Wykeham's patron, and to have been the same person with the Constable of Winchester Castle. The particular of Edward the third's meeting with Wykeham first at Winchester, is destitute of proof: Archbishop Parker says, that he was first made known to the King at Windsor; which is equally uncertain. The most antient authors only say, that he was brought to Court, and taken into the King's service.

5. Out of the particulars herein mentioned two are false: he never was Parson of St. Martin's, nor Archdeacon of Buckingham.

7, 8, and 9. I find no evidence of his ever having been Master of the Wards, or Treasurer of the Revenues of France; and that he never was Treasurer of England, very manifestly appeareth by the Public Records.

10. The contrary to this I think I have proved beyond all doubt; and that not only by probable arguments and consequences, drawn from the circumstances of the history of those times, but by direct evidence from
Records,

Records, such as was hardly to be expected in this case.

11. What the Reporter adds in the next article is merely an invention of his own, drawn by consequence or conjecture from the former; yet wholly improbable, even allowing the truth of the former article.

12. This, without any circumstances added of time or occasion, is very inaccurate; so that the contrary might be affirmed in the same manner with equal truth.

13, and 14. In the two concluding articles, the Reporter hath betrayed his extreme ignorance of every thing relating to the subject, upon which he pretended to give information. Any common chronicle might have taught him better, and prevented his running into such gross errors. And yet even in these, by passing under the respectable name of Leland, he has had authority enough to mislead succeeding historians, and has introduced the utmost confusion into this part of Wykeham's history. I have evidently and distinctly shewn, that Wykeham's troubles were just of seven months continuance; that he was absent from Court, being ordered not to come within twenty miles of it, residing

chiefly in the monasteries of Merton and Waverly, just two months; that he was restored by Edward the third, and that he received his pardon from Richard the second within six weeks of his accession to the throne.

Such is the Report, the falshoods contained in which, tho' at any time so easy to be detected, yet have in some degree crept into most of our histories: a remarkable proof of the extreme negligence of our historians, and how little their testimony is to be depended upon, where it is not supported by clear and authentic evidence.

To state this case in a few words: it appears from what has been said, that Dr. London was the author of the Report; that Leland only transcribed it; that he has not given it any mark of his approbation: on the contrary, it is highly probable, that the notes, added in the title and margin, declaring the falshood and incredibility of the greatest part of it, are his. And yet merely because it was found among his Collections, our Historians have taken it for Leland's own, and have given credit to it, and propagated the belief of it, under the sanction of his authority. Hol-
linshed

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finished seems to have led the way in this mistake: he has given in detail all the particulars therein mentioned, quoting Leland for them. Others, tho' they have not adopted the whole, yet have generally been led into many errors by the same mistaken authority; and there is hardly any account of Wykeham written since Leland's time, but what has in some degree been infected with falshood from the same quarter.

A late anonymous Annotator to a late Historian, likewise anonymous, in the Collection called the Complete History of England, has retailed most of these particulars, with a design, as it seems, of correcting his author, who in his opinion had spoken too favourably of Wykeham; and has added to them the following reflections:

"^s The reward of good actions is to be
" expected according to the sincerity of
" the

^s Comp. Hist. of England, Vol. i. page 291. Mr. Hearne having insinuated, that Bishop Kennett was the Author of this Note, the Bishop in a Letter to Mr. Hearne denied, that he was " the Author, Publisher, or " Revisor of that Volume, or of any Note or Line in " it." See the Preface to Vol. 4th and 7th of Leland's Itinerary published by Hearne. " He had no manner " of hand in any branch of the two former [Volumes " of Comp. Hist. of England,] nor in the Preface to
" them,

" the heart. An ostentation of Charity
 " and the merit of Alms in those days put
 " people on wicked courses to shew their
 " beneficence to the Church and Church-
 " men.—No wonder he raised such a
 " mighty estate in his ministry, consider-
 " ing he lived in so loose a Government as
 " that of King Richard the Second." I
 shall leave the reader to judge, as he shall
 think proper, of the spirit with which these
 reflections are made, and of the grounds
 upon which they are raised. But with re-
 gard to the last clause, the readers of this
 History are to be reminded, that Wyke-
 ham's ministry was under Edward the
 third, in whose time his estate was raised,
 and in whose time he conceived the whole
 design of his public charities, and began to
 put it in execution; that he bore no place
 of profit under Richard the second, except
 that of Chancellor, something more than

" them, which was written by Mr. Hughes;" says the
 Author of Bishop Kennett's Life, p. 33.

N. B. The author of this part of Comp. Hist. of Eng-
 land says, that Wykeham was one of the Ambassadors sent
 to Guisnes to treat of Queen Isabel's restitution in 1401;
 and that he married Henry the fourth to the Duchess of
 Britany in St. Swythins Church Winchester, in Feb.
 1402—3: neither of which is true.

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two years, which was forced upon him; and that however loose this King's Government might be, it was not chargeable upon Wykeham, who had no connection with his ministers and favourites; but on the contrary, was always applied to, and entrusted by the Parliament, as a fit person to assist in the reforming and correcting the enormities so much complained of in the government.

Thus far has Wykeham undeservedly suffered in his reputation, through the malice and ingratitude, or at least the ignorance and presumption, of a man, who owed every thing to his bounty; a man, who seems to have boldly undertaken to inform others in a matter of importance, in which he appears to have used no care to inform himself; one who was as void of all regard to truth, as of respect to the memory of his great benefactor. It is not to be wondered, if others, who might be supposed upon any account to be influenced by ill-will towards his memory, should have taken occasion from hence to load him with infamy, and have endeavoured to improve upon this first essay of calumny and detraction.

This

This has been lately done, with a degree of virulence that is almost without example, by one William Bohun of the Middle Temple Esq;: ⁹ who having without any just cause conceived a violent resentment against the Society of New College in Oxford, first endeavoured, in the impotence of his

⁹ Mr. Bohun had lent a sum of money to one Combes, the Lessee of the Manor of Birchanger in Essex under New College, and sued out an Execution against him, intending to seize on Combes's Term in Birchanger, as a Chattel, by Sheriff's Writ, for the security of his debt. Combes in the mean time had made an Assignment of his Lease to Eustace Budgell Esq;: so that when the Writ came to be executed, Combes had no Property in Essex, and the Sheriff was forced to return it with the Indorsement of *Nulla Bona*. Mr. Bohun prosecuted the Sheriff for non-execution of his Writ, who stood a Trial, the event of which I know not.

The College had confirmed Combes's Assignment by granting a new Lease to Budgell: when in the year 1726 Bohun met the College Progress in Essex, and first expostulated with Mr. Pryor, then Fellow of the College and acting upon that occasion as Deputy Steward, on the supposed injustice of their proceedings; alleging, that they had no authority to receive a Surrender, or make a Grant of an Estate, while (to use his own expressions) the King's Hands were upon it. Mr. Pryor contented himself with answering, that the Society had not acted in that affair without taking due advice, and that they were ready to justify their conduct, whenever they should be called upon by a proper authority.

This was all that passed in Mr. Pryor's presence: but Dr. Bigg, Warden of the College, sent for Mr. Bohun into

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his wrath, to revenge himself by a vexatious prosecution commenced against the person of their worthy Governor: but not satisfied with this, and thinking he could give them a blow, which would affect them more sensibly, by wounding the reputation

into the parlour of the house where the College Courts were held, and there in the presence of Mr. Budgell, and Mr. Coker, (then Fellow of the College, and by his office attending upon the Warden in his Progress), undertook to reason the matter with him calmly and dispassionately in behalf of the Society's proceedings. But finding himself unable to make any impression on him, and high words arising between Bohun and Budgell, the Warden thought proper to withdraw. Soon after Budgell having gradually shoved Bohun off the end of the bench on which they both sat, Bohun struck him, and the Gentlemen exercised their Canes on each other pretty smartly; the consequence of which was victory to Budgell, and a severe beating to Bohun.

Bohun on his recovery, not only brought an Action against Budgell for an Assault, but likewise swore the Peace against the Warden; alledging, that he was a Confederate with Budgell, and aiding and abetting to him; since the Warden had invited Bohun into the house, and ought to have protected him during his stay in it. The Warden was obliged to attend in person at Westminster-Hall, and to give Bail for his farther appearance; but Bohun proceeding no farther against him, the matter, so far as concerned the Warden and the College, dropped there.

This account has been communicated to me by two Gentlemen of great honour and integrity, both therein mentioned as present on the occasion; John Coker of Bicester in the County of Oxford Esq; and Thomas Pryor Esq; Steward of New College Oxford.

of

of their Founder, set himself to collect every thing he could meet with that was capable of being represented to his discredit, and to improve it with new and horrible calumnies of his own invention. Being a frequent Publisher, it seems, in the way of his own Profession, he took care to introduce into the next performance, which he presented to the world, his scurrilous Libel on the Illustrious Dead: and it must be owned, he has introduced it with singular propriety; for it comes in by way of illustration on the subject of Scandalum Magnatum. The Book itself is intitled *The English Lawyer*¹. As it is not of sufficient note to be easily met with by any one who shall think it worth his while, upon this occasion, to enquire after it; and as I would deal fairly by the reader, and lay before him the whole charge that this author has brought against Wykeham, that he may be the better able to judge of the truth of it; I must here trouble him with a large extract from it of every thing which it contains to that purpose; which is as follows².

¹ London, 8vo. 1732.

² Pag. 200—203.

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" But the truth of the case " The occasion
 " as to the motives or occasion " of the Stat. 2.
 " of making the Stat. 2. R. 2. " R. 2."
 " was thus.—In the declining years
 " of King Edward 3. *W. Wickham* Bishop
 " of *Winchester*, in whom that King in-
 " tirely confided, had found means to in-
 " troduce his Niece or Sister (the famed
 " *Alice Pierce*) to the King's Favour and
 " Bed; and by her means had got into
 " the chief management of the Councils
 " and Revenues of the Kingdom, so far as
 " to exclude even the King's Sons the *Black*
 " *Prince*, and *John of Gaunt*, " The quarrel
 " from intermeddling in pub- " between W.
 " lic affairs. This conduct " Wickham and
 " of *Wickham* raised high re- " John of
 " sentments in the *Prince* and *Gaunt* against
 " *Wickham* and his party (who were the
 " body of the *Prelates* and *Ecclesiastics*,)
 " and possibly might occasion their favour-
 " ing of *Wicklief*, &c. who then first ap-
 " peared in opposition to the Ecclesiastic
 " Hierarchy. They both pursued the
 " matter with so much earnestness as to
 " obtain an order for the removal of
 " *Wickham* and *Alice* from the person of
 " the King. But before this could be fully
 " effected

" effected the Prince died, suspected of
 " being poisoned by a zealot against heresy
 " (or one of *Alice's* agents). However the
 " contest went on between *Gaunt* and *Wick-*
 " See the first " *ham*, and *Gaunt* charges
 " article of the " *Wickham* with embezzling
 " charge against " *Wickham*.
 " *Wickham*." " above 1,100,000 pounds of
 " the public money, a prodigious sum,
 " above ten millions of our money; and if
 " true (as there is good ground to believe
 " for a great part) might well enable him
 " to found and endow his colleges out of
 " the plunder of the public."

" But this charge by *Gaunt* against
 " The rage and " *Wickham*, and his favour-
 " scandal of the " ing *Wicklief*, &c. so spirited
 " Prelates a- " the rage of the Prelates and
 " gainst " *Gaunt*.
 " *Gaunt*." " Clergy against *Gaunt*, that
 " their utmost malice was employed, and
 " even the pulpit itself prostituted to scan-
 " dalize and defame him. *Infidel* and *He-*
 " *retic* were their softer terms: *Traitor* and
 " *Rebel* were more common: he was ge-
 " nerally represented by them as one that
 " affected the kingdom, of which to render
 " him utterly incapable, they said he was a
 " *Supposititious* Child, a *Bastard*, &c. of
 " which report *Wickham* was doubtless the
 " *Promoter*,

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" *Promoter*, if not the *Author*. For it was
 " industriously reported among the *Pre-*
 " *lates* and Clergy, that Queen *Isabel* had
 " on her death-bed confessed to *Wickham*
 " that *Gaunt* was the son of a *Flemish* wo-
 " man, and not the son of her or the King.
 " But this report was not openly spread
 " till after the death of King *Edward* the
 " Third."

" But notwithstanding the malice of
 " *Wickham* and the Clergy prevailed some-
 " what on the *Commons*, yet *Gaunt* found so
 " much favour and interest among the
 " temporal nobility, as upon Edward the
 " Third's death to be constituted Protector
 " of the young King Richard II. and the
 " kingdom."

" Hereupon a new prose- " But being re-
 " cution was commenced a- " conciled, the
 " gainst *Wickham* for *Forgery*, " Statute passed."
 " *Bribery*, *Corruption*, &c. and new scandals
 " were raised against *Gaunt*; but in the
 " end, by solicitation of the *Prelates* on
 " one side, and the Temporal Peers on the
 " other, an accommodation passed between
 " them; and upon *Gaunt's* dropping the
 " prosecution *Wickham* took his oath in

Z

" full

" full Parliament that he was neither the
 " Author, nor would be the *Fautor* of those
 " scandals; and utterly disavowed the
 " mention of his illegitimacy by Queen
 " *Isabel*: and urged that the authors of
 " that report had scandalized him more
 " than they had the *Duke*; and earnestly
 " pressed, that the authors and spreaders of
 " those reports might be punished, &c. as
 " a scandal thrown on a Right Reverend
 " *Prelate*, as well as on a most noble *Duke*.
 " And hereupon was enacted the Sta-
 " tute 2. R. 2.

" Wickham al- " As to the Statute 12. R. 2.
 " so the occasion " I can at present say little
 " of 12. R. 2. " more than that I find *Wick-*
 " c. 2."

" *ham* was this year again made Chancellor;
 " and possibly remembring the old quarrel,
 " was willing to sooth and mollify the
 " Duke's disposition towards him. And as
 " on occasion he was a most artful flatterer,
 " so knowing the utmost of the Duke's de-
 " fires was to have the honour of his birth
 " guarded against such a horrid (or horri-
 " ble scandal, as the Act calls it) and
 " knowing that high dignity without the
 " Duke's favour would but rip up old
 " wounds, he therefore anticipates the
 " Duke's

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" Duke's wishes, and procures the Act of
" 12 R. 2. almost in the same terms as the
" former, with a *further punishment* (besides
" imprisonment) by *the advice of the (King's*
" *or Kingdom's)* Council."

" I have but briefly hinted at some few
" things in *Wickham's* story, which, were
" the whole enlarged as it might, would
" prove that Prelate to have a genius far
" superior to any modern *Bishop, Chancel-*
" *lor, or Lord Treasurer,* who had the art
" and address during eight or ten years of
" a profound peace, not only to screen the
" whole revenues of the kingdom through
" his own fingers; or, as the articles say,
" had the whole disposal of the King's mo-
" ney both here and beyond sea, with all
" the subsidies and aids both great and
" small; but also the price paid for the re-
" demption of the two Kings of *France*
" and *Scotland* with the money given by
" the inhabitants of *Burgundy* to redeem
" their country from military execution;
" as also 100,000 franks from the Duke of
" *Millain,* with presents and gifts from
" other princes; so that from 26 Nov. 35
" Ed. 3. to 43 of that reign, the money
" computed to be heaped up by him, a-

" mounted to 1,109,600 l. which vast sum
 " this Prelate is charged to have received,
 " and yet tho' in time of peace, both the
 " King and Kingdom by his artful ma-
 " nagement was run in debt; of which he
 " acquitted himself, by rendring himself
 " unaccountable; and at length (when
 " Chancellor) acquitted himself by passing
 " his own pardon, &c."

Thus far our author in his English
 Lawyer: but being sensible that his malice
 was like to prove very innocent, and would
 be in a great measure lost, while it lay hid
 in his own obscure volume; he took the
 first opportunity that offered itself, tho' it
 was many years first, of publishing his li-
 bel more effectually, by tacking it on to a
 work of some credit, and that would be
 more generally read. The vehicle, that he
 made use of for this purpose, was Nathaniel
 Bacon's Historical and Political Discourse
 of the Laws and Government of England.
 A new edition of this book was published
 in the year 1739. The Booksellers, who
 were engaged in it, employed Mr. Bohun
 to correct the press. What else he under-
 took, I know not; but this is the whole
 that he has performed to give him a claim

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to the title of Editor, except that he has added a very few notes, scattered here and there in the margin, containing hardly any thing beside the foregoing calumnies against Wykeham, drawn into a narrower compass, and introduced as occasion best served. The notes relating to Wykeham, (and they are by much the greatest part of the whole,) are as follows.

Bacon's Discourse, page 4. (speaking of Ed. 3.)—"to die in his minority under the rule of a woman of none of the best fame." Marginal note, "*i. e.* Alice Piers W. Wickham's niece, or *&c.* and by him laid in the King's bosom."

Ibid. p. 5.—"the Duke of Lancaster engaged with the Wicclifists." Note, "This induced the Ecclesiastics (especially Wickham, *&c.*) to publish most malicious scandals against Gaunt, which occasioned the several statutes De Scandalis Magnatum, 5. & 10. R. 2."

Ibid. p. 37. "Stat. 2. cap. 5. Rich. 2. to apprehend heretics." Note, "This pretended statute seems to have been formed by the artifice of Bishop Wickham (then Chancellor) and by him shuffled in amongst the rolls of Parliament.

" See the complaint of the Commons in
 " *fra.*"

Ibid. p. 66.—" a law that all such as
 " published such *false news*, to sow strife
 " between great men,"—with reference to
 " 2 R. 2. c. 6. & 12 R. 2. c. 11.] Note,
 " These statutes were made on occasion of
 " a quarrel between William Wickham
 " Bishop of Winchester and John of Gaunt,
 " who had been scandalously reflected on
 " by Wickham and his Clergy, even in
 " their pulpits. See Wickham's Life."

Tho', after what I have already written
 upon this subject, the bare reporting of so
 groundless, so malicious, and so absurd a
 collection of slander, would be a sufficient
 confutation of it; yet I shall take the trou-
 ble of reviewing it, and examining the se-
 veral particulars which it contains, in order
 to set the truth in the clearest and fullest
 light that my materials will enable me
 to do.

To consider in the first place the charge
 of Wykeham's connection with Alice Per-
 rers. This Lady was Maid of Honour to
 Edward

This circumstance alone renders the account,
 which the author of MS. Harleian. N^o 6217, chap. 8,
 gives

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Edward the Third's Queen Philippa: whoever the person was that recommended her to the Queen's service, he might perhaps act very rightly and commendably in so doing, and could not be answerable for the consequences. In this station she could not escape the King's notice, nor would she stand in need of any other recommendation to his favour, beside that of her own beauty and accomplishments. Mr. Bohun says, she was introduced to the King in his declining years; Bacon calls it his *minority*, meaning, I suppose, his dotage: in this they

gives of Alice Perrers's low birth, very improbable. However, as it is an anecdote, I shall present it to the Reader: "There was at the sayme tyme in Englande
 " a shamlesse woman and wanton harlott called Ales
 " Peres, of base kynred, for she was a wever's doughter
 " of the towne of Hunneye, [*in the margin, Hunneye,*
 " bysyds Excestur as some supose.] but helped by for-
 " tune, beyng nether bewtifull nor fayre, she knew how
 " to cover these defects with her flatteryng tounge;
 " whom fortune had so exalted, (of a poore servant
 " and harlott of a certen foole that used with his hands
 " to carye water from the counduet to mens howses
 " for necessarye uses) that she had promoted her to the
 " familiartye of the kynge more then was convenyent,
 " and, the Quene yet lyvyng, sholde prefer her in the
 " kynge's love before the saled Quene. This woman
 " after she was in the kynge's frendshipp had so be-
 " witched hym, that he permytted the warres and
 " greatest matters of the realme to be defyned by her
 " counsell."

are both mistaken, as indeed are all our late Historians. The truth of the matter is, that Alice Perrers had gained the King's good graces above ten years at least before he died. How much earlier the date of his affection for her ought to be placed, I cannot say; but from the beginning of the forty first year of his reign, when he was not a very old man, and far from a dotard, even our Records themselves carry evident proofs of it. Her interest in the King was by this time thoroughly established; for from henceforward to the end of his reign there hardly passed any year, in which she did not obtain very considerable grants from the crown. Mr. Bohun is pleased to say, that she was "introduced to the King's favour and bed," and afterwards improving upon his expression, that she was "laid in the King's bosom, by Wykeham." A bare assertion of his, of such a nature, for which he produces no voucher, and for which he could not possibly have any to produce, would be properly answered, and sufficiently refuted by a bare denial. But we need not rest the matter upon this issue: we may appeal to history for the determination of it.

We

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We have the concurrent testimony of historians to prove, that Wykeham was banished from Court, and stripped of his temporalities, by the united influence of Alice Perrers and the Duke of Lancaster: they give not the least intimation of his having gotten into the chief management of the councils and revenues of the kingdom by the means of Alice Perrers; on the contrary, they give a very different account of his rise, and ascribe it to other causes, and those wholly of another kind. I have already proved from unquestionable authorities, that Alice Perrers was at one time Wykeham's avowed and bitter enemy: history affords not the least colour of proof, that there ever subsisted between them any particular connection of friendship.

But says Mr. Bohun, " Alice Perrers " was Wykeham's niece, or sister ;" and afterwards, that he might allow full scope to the invention of any other forger of calumny that might succeed him, " his niece, " or, &c." He is doubtful of the relation, thinks it best to abide by that of niece, as most probable, but is rather willing to have it thought some other, in the present case, or in its general nature, more infamous.

This

This particular of Alice Perrers being Wykeham's near relation, is a circumstance which he has laid hold of and improved from a mere surmise of Archbishop Parker, which the Archbishop indeed expresses with much doubt and hesitation. "Among
 " which Legacies" (says he, speaking of Wykeham's Will) "one hundred pounds
 " are bequeathed to Alice Perot his kins-
 " woman: whether this person was the same
 " with her whom the historians call Alice
 " Perres, by whom, as we have said, he was
 " reconciled to the King, is uncertain." The Archbishop in some other instances has not treated Wykeham with that candor, which belonged to his own character, and was due to Wykeham's. What he says of the extreme lowness and servile condition of his birth, of his total deficiency in learning, of his recovering his temporalities by bribing Alice Perrers, (which, by the way, one would think was a method

* "Inter quæ legata 100 l. Aliciæ Perot consanguinei-
 " suæ conceduntur: quæ an eadem fuerit quam Aliciam
 " Perres historiographi nuncupant, cujus, ut diximus,
 " gratia Regi reconciliatus fuerit, incertum est." Antiq.
 Britan. ad an. 1376.

he needed not to have had recourse to, had (he been his near relation) are of this kind; founded on no sufficient proof, and indeed for the most part destitute of probability; as I have already shewn. " 'He was always "a frugal man," (adds he) "and by his "very parsimony acquired great wealth." This, though it may be interpreted in a favourable sense and as a commendation, yet surely belongs not to the portrait which he is drawing; it bears no resemblance to the open-hearted and generous Wykeham, whose life was one continued course of liberality and munificence. As to the Archbishop's conjecture above mentioned, it is so destitute of all proper foundation, that it would hardly be worth considering, were it not that his authority may possibly give some weight to it. It appears to be wholly built on the similitude of names; and that too very slight and imperfect. The christian name is indeed the same: but it must be observed, that Alice was a name very much in vogue in that age, and perhaps the most common female name of any whatever. I

¹ " *Vir semper frugi fuit, atque ipsa parsimonia quæ-
stum fecit maximum.*" Ibid.

remember

remember to have observed in Wykeham's register a list of nuns, near half of whom (five out of thirteen) were Alices. Nothing therefore can be concluded from hence. As for the surnames; Perrers is expressed in the records with much variation; it is also written Perers, Perreres, and de Pereris: but the name of Wykeham's niece, which likewise occurs in many records of unquestionable authority, is, in all that I have seen, invariably Perot; very different in orthography from the former, which way soever written, and not at all like it in sound. So that the true state of the case is this: the names at first sight are very little alike; and when you come to examine them, they plainly appear to be quite different. Here is no room for an argument, or even for a conjecture: I might just as well suppose, or go about to prove by the same medium of similitude of names, that the Bishop's cousin John Wykeham and the famous John Wykliff were one and the same person.

This is enough to satisfy any one that is not possessed with the same spirit with Mr. Bohun. However, it will be easy to de-

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monstrate by matter of fact and the history of each of them, that Alice Perrers and Alice Perot were two different persons. Perrers was the family name of the former Alice : she ⁺ continued unmarried till after the first Parliament of Richard the Second, when she became the wife of Sir William de Wyndesore, who had been Lieutenant of Ireland in the end of Edward the Third's time, and in whose behalf she had influenced the King to reverse an order of Council, which was one of the articles of the charge brought against her in Parliament. Sir William de Wyndesore died ⁺ in

⁺ Mr. Carte, who, after the example of Barnes, undertakes the defence of this Lady's honour, is mistaken in affirming, that she was actually married to Sir William Wyndesore in Edward the Third's time ; which is his principal argument in her favour. That she was not married to him till after the first Parliament of Richard the Second is plain from hence, that hitherto she is called in the Parliament Rolls Alice Perrers ; afterwards, Alice the wife of Sir William de Wyndesore, late called Alice Perrers. Rot. Parl. 2 R. 2. and 8 R. 2. As also in the following Record : “ Bona Aliciæ uxoris dilecti nostri Wilhelmi de Wyndesore Chivaler nobis foris facta virtute iudicii contra prædict. Aliciam per nomen Aliciæ Perrers in Parl. an. reg. 1.” — MS. Rymer. R. 2. vol. 2. N^o 139.

⁺ The probate of the will of Sir William Wyndesore is dated Sep. 19, 1384. His will is nuncupative ; he

in the year 1384, leaving no issue by her: she lived, and continued a widow, till the latter end of Richard the Second's time; after which we hear no more of her. The family name of the other Alice, the daughter of Agnes, Wykeham's sister, was Chawmpeneys: she was married to William Perot some years before the death of Edward the Third; for John the youngest of her three sons was admitted Fellow of New College Oxford in the year 1395; and so was born probably about the end of Edward the Third's, or the beginning of Richard the Second's reign: and her eldest son William was married in the year 1396, with the Bishop's approbation, and was at least of full age, probably some years above. She and her husband William Perot were both alive, and appeared in the Court of King's Bench, in the eleventh year of Henry the Fourth. All which particulars of undoubted matter of fact being laid together

he does not so much as mention his wife in it, whose estates, I suppose, had been secured to her before; and only makes some bequests to his brother's sons; from whence I conclude he had no issue. *Regist. Wykeham, part 3. b. fol. 62.*

See Cotton's Abridgment, 21 R. 2.

7 See Appendix, N^o I. III. IV. & XVII.

and

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and compared, it appears to be utterly impossible, that the said two Alices, even though their surnames were really the same, could be one and the same person.

So much for Archbishop Parker's conjecture, of which Mr. Bohun has made such good use. In the remaining part of the same paragraph, he has confounded all history; he has united the Prince of Wales and Duke of Lancaster in opposition to Wykeham and Alice Perrers; whereas it was the Prince of Wales and Wykeham against the Duke of Lancaster and Alice Perrers: he makes the Prince of Wales one of Wickliff's favourers, though he died almost a year before Wickliff's affair came in question: he says, that Wykeham and Alice Perrers were removed from Court together, whereas it is certain that Wykeham was removed in consequence of Alice Perrers being reinstated in her power there. "But before the removal of Wykeham and Alice could be effected," (it was not before the actual removal of Alice; it was before the removal of Wykeham was attempted or thought of) "the Prince of Wales died, suspected of being poisoned by a zealot against here-
"sy,

“fy, or one of Alice’s agents.” Though Wykeham never distinguished himself as a zealot against heresy, nor was ever before suspected of being one of Alice’s agents, yet every one sees that this impudent insinuation is aimed at him. But the absurdity of this writer is equal even to his malice, and very happily counterworks the effects of it. Besides that there never was any suspicion of the Prince of Wales’s being poisoned, it is notorious, that he was seized with the disease, which irrecoverably destroyed his constitution, in his expedition into Spain, ten years before his death; that he did not return to England till three or four years after that expedition, when he was quite disabled from attending to his affairs in Aquitaine, and his case was in a manner desperate: that in England, except that in the year after his return he seemed to be for a little while somewhat better, his distemper gradually increased, and, though later than was expected, brought him at length to his grave. Would this libeller suppose, that one of Alice’s agents poisoned the Prince so long before in Spain? or at last, and at home, when he was otherwise visibly dying? Why should we suppose

pose it done by a zealot against heresy, when the Prince was never in the least suspected of favouring heretics? But the reader must by this time think, that I presume too much on his patience, in imagining, that he will accompany me in an examination in detail of such an incoherent collection of falsehood and slander. For what remains therefore, relating to the accusation brought against Wykeham by the Duke of Lancaster at the end of Edward the Third's reign, and the report of the Queen's confession to him upon her death-bed, I shall refer him to what I have already said upon those heads; and shall only add in brief, that Mr. Bohun not writing from history, where he knew that what he wanted could not be found, but from his own head, mistakes Queen Isabel Edward the Third's mother for Queen Philippa his wife; that what he says of the Prelates and the Clergy, or Wykeham and his Clergy, prostituting their pulpits to defame the Duke of Lancaster, is purely an invention of his own: and that the next three paragraphs are of the same kind, utterly destitute of all manner of foundation, and contain not so much as one word of truth. The Duke of Lanca-

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ter was never constituted Protector of the King and kingdom; no new prosecution was ever commenced against Wykeham; no one circumstance of all that he relates in consequence of it ever existed; Wykeham was not Chancellor in the Parliament of the twelfth year of Richard the Second, nor in the first year of the same reign, when his pardon was passed; nor had either of the Acts of Parliament, which he has made the chief ground-work of his slanders upon Wykeham, any the least relation to him or his affairs.

Thus much may fully suffice for the English Lawyer; but we have not yet quite done with the Annotator on Bacon, Not content with having in his first performance accused Wykeham of being pandar to the King; of prostituting his own niece, or sister, or &c; of poisoning the Prince of Wales; all monstrous calumnies of his own diabolical invention, which one would have thought must have been by this time exhausted; he has now another charge to bring against him, and that of no less a crime than forging an Act of Parliament. "This pretended Statute"

(Stat.

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(Stat. 2. chap. 5. 5 R. 2. against heretics)
“ seems to have been formed by the arti-
“ fice of Bishop Wykeham, then Chancel-
“ lor, and by him shuffled in amongst the
“ Rolls of Parliament.” He makes no
scruple of grounding an accusation of the
most flagitious crime upon the slightest
surmise. You see, the whole force of the
proof arises from that one circumstance of
Wykeham’s being then Chancellor. But
could any one imagine, that the man could
possibly have the impudence to say this,
when he must know, that his reader would
find by the first chronicle he turned to,
that Wykeham was not Chancellor within
seven years of this time? I shall not enter
into a discussion of this affair, since it no-
wise concerns Wykeham. Our author
borrowed the accusation of Lord Coke; he
has only by a small slight of hand transfer-
red it from one person to another. Lord
Coke^a charges the inrolling of this Statute,
as a fraud, on Braybroke Bishop of Lon-
don, whom he supposes to have been at
that time Chancellor: but a late^b worthy

^a 3: Inst. chap. 5.

^b See Bishop Gibson’s Codex, p. 399.

successor of his in that see has very well defended him against this imputation, upon the supposition, that he was indeed then Chancellor; whereas^{*} in truth Braybroke was not then Chancellor, but Richard Le Scrope a Layman.

I have now fairly laid before the reader every thing that I can find, which has been at any time alledged to the discredit of Wykeham: much of it of that sort, which nothing but the obscurity, in which all private and personal history of those times lies involved, and the confidence, that any charge of this kind boldly affirmed would not easily admit of a direct confutation, could have encouraged the most determined malice to utter. But notwithstanding these disadvantages, I hope I have set every thing material in so clear a light, as to leave no room for doubt in any unprejudiced mind: it would have been enough, to have shewn, that these allegations are all

^{*} The Parliament of 5 R. 2. finished its session on Feb. 25, 1381-2. Wake, State of the Church, pag. 311. The writ to the Sheriff for proclamation of the Acts of that Parliament, and of this Statute among the rest, is dated May 26 following. Stat. at large. Braybroke did not receive the Great Seal till September 20. afterwards. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. 7. p. 362.

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destitute of proof; I think I have demonstrated their falsity. I shall only add, that, from the experience, which I have had in my inquiries into this subject, I am fully persuaded, that the reputation and character of Wykeham will always gain by being accurately examined, and fully laid open; that, whatever new discoveries may be made in the general history of his time, or whatever unexpected lights may be thrown upon his particular affairs, they will all tend to advance his honour; and that nothing but evidence and truth is required to set forth his life and actions to the greatest advantage.

APPEN-

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 strated, when talking, I shall only add, that
 from the experience, which I have had in
 my writings, and the subject, I am fully
 persuaded, that the reputation and charac-
 ter of Wyrbeham will always gain by being
 accurately examined, and fully laid open;
 that whatever discovery may be made
 in the general history of his time, or what
 our countrymen may be able to discover
 in particular, they will all tend to
 advance his honour, and that nothing but
 evidence and truth is required to set forth
 his life and actions to the greatest advan-

tage.
 I have, therefore, in this work, endeavoured
 to lay open, as far as I am able, the whole
 of his life and actions, and to set forth
 his character, and his reputation, as they
 stand, without any addition or subtraction
 of my own, or any other person's, opinion.
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APPENDIX
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 of my own, or any other person's, opinion.

APPENDIX.

Nº I.

E Veteri Registro Coll. Winton.

ALICIA, quæ fuit soror Johannis Longe patris Domini Wilhelmi Wykeham Episcopi Winton & fundatoris istius Collegii, desponsata fuit Johanni Archemore, ex quibus processerunt tredecim filiae, quarum una vocabatur Emma, mater Johanne Warner & Wilhelmi Carpenter.

Altera vocabatur Margerla, mater Edithæ Ryngborne & Isabellæ Mavyle & Johannis Rokle.

Altera vocabatur Alicia, mater Roberti Mavyle de Strata Hyde Wynt.

Altera vocabatur Matilda, ex qua processit Agnes adhuc vivens, in West-Stratton, ex qua processit Johanna desponsata Johanni Bolne in Com. Suffex.

Altera vocabatur Johanna, mater Zelotæ quæ morabatur apud Westmeone.

Agnes Chawmpeneys, soror Domini Wilhelmi Wykeham fundatoris nostri, fuit mater Aliciæ Perott, quæ Alicia fuit mater Thomæ Wykeham Militis.

Item secundum quosdam Wilhelmus Stratton procreavit de Amicia Stratton, filia Domini de Stratton juxta Selborne, quatuor filios, Ricardum, Stephanum, Robertum, & Johannem, qui obierunt sine liberis; ac etiam tres filias, scil. Aliciam, Julianam, & Alienoram.

Aliciam duxit Wilhelmus Bowade in uxorem, de qua habuit filiam nomine Sibillam, quam Johannes Longe duxit in uxorem, ex qua procreavit filium nomine Wilhelmum Episcopum Wint. & filiam nomine Agnetem, quæ Agnes habuit filiam nomine Aliciam, quam Wilhelmus Perott duxit in uxorem, ex qua procreavit tres filios, Wilhelmum, Johannem, & Thomam, mortuos nunc; qui Thomas vocabatur Wykeham Miles, & duxit

II A P P E N D I X.

In uxorem filiam Wilhelmi Wykeceys Armig. de qua procreavit filios & filias.

Jullanam Amltam matris Fundatoris duxit Ricardus Botesse in uxorem, de qua habuit filiam nomine Emmam, quam Ricardus Benet duxit in uxorem, de qua habuit filium nomine Ricardum.

Allenoram Amltam matris Fundatoris duxit in uxorem Ricardus Kerfwell de Stokebrigg, de qua procreavit filiam nomine Elizabetham, quam Rog. Goryng de Sarum duxit in uxorem, de qua habuit filiam nomine Johannam.

Item secundum alios Johannes Longe pater Fundatoris habuit fratrem nomine Henricum Aas, qui Henricus Aas habuit tres filios, Wilhelmum, Ricardum, & Radulphum; Radolphus iste habuit filium nomine Wilhelmum, & tres filias, s. Feliciam olim Abbatissam de Romefeye.

Nº II.

Ex Originali in Archivis Coll. Wint.

HÆC indentura facta inter Reverendum in Christo Patrem & Dominum Dominum Wilhelmum de Wikeham'permissione divina Episcopum Wynton. ex parte una, & Nicholaum de Wikeham, Archidiaconum Wiltes, Johannem de Wikeham Personam Ecclesiæ de Crundale, Johannem de Campeden, & Wilhelmum Ryngeborne, ex parte altera, testatur quod dicti Nicholaus & Johannes de Wikeham, Johannes de Campeden, & Wilhelmus Ryngeborne, per præsentem concesserunt & dimiserunt dicto Domino Episcopo maneria sua de Burnham & Brene in Com. Somers. cum omnibus suis pertinent. habendum & tenendum dicta maneria eidem Domino Episcopo ad totam vitam suam: ita quod post mortem dicti domini Episcopi, prædicta maneria de Burnham & Brene cum suis pertinent. integra remaneant Wilhelmo Wikeham consanguineo dicti Domini Episcopi & Aliciæ Uvedale, & hæredibus masculis de corpore ipsius Wilhelmi consanguinei legitime procreatis:

Ita

A P P E N D I X. III

Ita quod si contingat dictum Wilhelmum Wikeham consanguineum dicti Domini Episcopi sine hærede masculino de corpore suo legitime procreato obire, quod ex tunc post mortem dictæ Allele dicta maneria cum omnibus suis pertinent. integra remaneant Thomæ Wikeham fratri ejusdem Wilhelmi consanguinei & hæredibus masculis ipsius Thomæ de corpore suo legitime procreatis: Et si contingat quod idem Thomas frater Wilhelmi obierit sine hærede masculino de corpore suo legitime procreato, tunc post decessum ipsius Thomæ prædicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant Johanni de Wikeham fratri ejusdem Thomæ fratris Wilhelmi, & hæredibus masculis de corpore suo procreatis: Et si contingat quod idem Johannes Wikeham obierit sine hærede masculino de corpore suo procreato, tunc post decessum ipsius Johannis dicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant hæredibus prædicti Wilhelmi consanguinei de corpore suo procreatis: Et si nullus hæres de corpore ipsius Wilhelmi consanguinei fuerit procreatus, tunc prædicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant hæredibus prædicti Thomæ Wikeham de corpore suo procreatis: Et si nullus hæres de corpore ipsius Thomæ fuerit procreatus, tunc prædicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant hæredibus prædicti Johannis Wykeham de corpore suo procreatis: Et si nullus hæres de corpore ipsius Johannis fuerit procreatus, tunc prædicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant Thomæ Warenner & Johannæ uxori ejus, & hæredibus masculis ipsius Johannæ de corpore suo procreatis: Et si contingat quod eadem Johanna obierit sine hærede masculino de corpore suo procreato, tunc post decessum ipsorum Thomæ Warenner & Johannæ prædicta maneria cum pertinent. remaneant Wilhelmo Ryngeborne & Edithæ uxori ejus, & hæredibus masculis ipsius Edithæ de corpore suo procreatis: Et si contingat quod eadem Editha obierit sine hærede masculino de corpore suo procreato, tunc post decessum ipsorum Wilhelmi Ryngeborne & Edithæ, prædicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant Agneti uxori nuper Guidonis Ayno, & hæredibus masculis ipsius Agnetis

iv A P P E N D I X.

de corpore suo procreatis : Et si contingat quod eadem Agnes obierit sine hærede masculo de corpore suo procreato, tunc post decessum dictæ Agnetis sine exitu huiusmodi, prædicta maneria cum pertinent integre remaneant Wilhelmo Maviell & Isabellæ uxori ejus, & hæredibus masculis ipsius Isabellæ : Et si contingat quod eadem Isabella obierit sine hærede masculo de corpore suo procreato, tunc post decessum ipsorum Wilhelmi Maviell & Isabellæ prædicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant Johanni Beneyt de Bottele & hæredibus masculis de corpore suo procreatis : Et si contingat quod idem Johannes Beneyt obierit sine hærede masculo de corpore suo procreato, tunc post decessum ipsius Johannis prædicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant hæredibus prædictæ Johannæ de corpore suo procreatis : Et si nullus hæres de corpore ipsius Johannæ fuerit procreatus, tunc prædicta maneria cum pertinent. integre remaneant hæredibus prædictæ Edithæ de corpore suo procreatis ; Et si nullus hæres de corpore ipsius Edithæ fuerit procreatus, tunc prædicta maneria cum suis pertinent. integre remaneant hæredibus prædictæ Agnetis de corpore suo procreatis : Et si nullus hæres de corpore ipsius Agnetis fuerit procreatus, tunc prædicta maneria cum suis pertinent. integre remaneant hæredibus prædictæ Isabellæ de corpore suo procreatis : Et si nullus hæres de corpore ipsius Isabellæ fuerit procreatus, tunc prædicta maneria cum suis pertinent. integre remaneant hæredibus prædicti Johannis Beneyt de corpore suo procreatis : Et si nullus hæres de corpore ipsius Johannis Beneyt fuerit procreatus, tunc prædicta maneria cum suis pertinent. integre remaneant rectis hæredibus dicti Domini Episcopi in perpetuum. Proviso semper quod si sponsalia inter dictos Wilhelmum Wikeham consanguineum & Aliciam Uvedale non celebrentur citra festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli proximum futurum, quod ex tunc bene liceat dictis, Nicholao de Wikeham, Johanni de Wikeham, Johanni de Campeden, & Wilhelmo Ryngeborne, dicta maneria cum suis pertinent. reintate & in pristino statu eorum retinere in perpetuum.

In

A P P E N D I X. v

In ejus rei testimonium hiis indenturis partes prædictæ sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Dat. primo die Julii anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi vicesimo.

Nicholaus	Johannes	Johannes	Wilhelmus
Wykeham	Wykeham	Campedene	Ringeburne
L. S.	L. S.	L. S.	L. S.

N° III.

E Libro H, Coll. Wint. fol. 157.

PLACITA apud Westm. coram Wilhelmo Thirnyng & soc. suis Justiciariis Domini Regis de Banco, Term. Hillar. anno Reg. Hen. Quarti post Conq. undecimo.

—Et prædictus custos [Coll. Wint.] dicit quod quondam Wilhelmus de Wykeham, nuper Episcopus Wynt. consanguineus prædictæ Aliciæ Perot, videlicet frater Agnetis matris ipsius Aliciæ, cujus hæres ipsa est, nuper fuit seistus de prædicto manerio [de Elynge]——& dedit, concessit, & carta sua confirmavit, Custodi & Scholaribus ejusdem Collegii prædictum manerium——& petit quod dicti Wilhelmus Perot & Alicia prædictum manerium de Elynge cum pertinentibus eidem Custodi ex causa prædicta warentizent, &c. Et prædictus Wilhelmus Perot & Alicia non possunt dedicere——quin eadem Alicia sit consanguinea & hæres ipsius Episcopi in forma prædicta, & gratis præfato Custodi prædictum manerium de Elynge cum pertinentibus virtute cartæ prædictæ warentizant.

N° VI.

E Finalibus Recordis in Communi Banco de termino Trinitatis 20 R. 2. Citat. à T. Martin. in Vita Gul. Wicami, lib. 1. cap. 1.

HÆC est finalis concordia facta in curia Domini Regis, &c. in octabis Sanctæ Trinitatis anno regni Richardi Regis vicesimo, coram Wilhelmo Thirninge,

vi A P P E N D I X.

&c. inter Wilhelmum Wickham filium Wilhelmi Perott & Allelam uxorem ejus querentes, & Wilhelmum de Wickham Episcopum Winton. Magistrum Nicholaum de Wickham Clericum, & Johannem Campeden Clericum deforciat. de manerio de Otterburne, &c.—Et si contingat quod idem Wilhelmus Wickham filius Wilhelmi Perott obierit sine hæredē masculino, de corpore suo procreato, tunc post decessum ipsorum Wilhelmi & Aliciæ uxoris ejus, prædicta manerium & tenementa cum pertinentiis integre remanebunt Thomæ Wickham fratri ejusdem Wilhelmi Wickham filii Wilhelmi Perott, & hæredibus masculis de corpore suo procreatis.

Nº V.

E Registro Wykeham. Part. I. fol. r.

Bulla Urbani Papæ Quinti super administratione Ecclesiæ Wynton.

URBANUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Wilhelmo de Wykeham Archidiacono Lincoln. administratori in spiritualibus & temporalibus Ecclesiæ Wynton. Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Regini universalis ecclesiæ quanquam insufficientibus meritis disponente Domino præsidentes de universis orbis ecclesiis pro earum statu salubriter dirigendo quantum nobis ex alto conceditur solícite cogitamus, sed eo propensius solícitudo nos urget, ut ecclesiis illis quæ suis sunt destitutæ pastoribus, ne in spiritualibus & temporalibus detrimenta sustineant, de salubri remedio, prout ipsarum ecclesiarum ac locorum & temporum qualitas exigit, consulamus: dudum siquidem bonæ memoriæ Wilhelmo Episcopo Wyntonensi, regimini Wynton. Ecclesiæ præsidente, nos cupientes eidem Wynton. ecclesiæ cum vacaret per sedis (s. apostolicæ) providentiam utilem & idoneam præesse personam provisionem ipsius ecclesiæ ordinationi & dispositioni nostræ duximus ea vice specialiter reservandum, decernentes ex tunc irritum & inane si secus super his per quoscunque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter

A P P E N D I X. vii

ter contingeret attemptari. Cum itaque postmodum dicta ecclesia per obitum dicti Wilhelmi Episcopi, qui extra Romanam curiam debitum naturæ persolvit, vacaverit, & vacet ad præsens, nos eidem ecclesiæ, de cujus provisione nullus præter nos hac vice se intromittere poterit neque potest reservatione & decreto obstitentibus supradictis, ut feliciter gubernetur ejusque dona & jura a pravorum manibus defensentur, cupientes providere, ac sperantes, quod tu apud nos de literarum scientia, vitæ ac morum honestate, spiritualium providentia, & temporalium circumspeditione, fide dignis testimoniis multipliciter commendatus, id scias & poteris salubriter adimplere, de fratrum nostrorum consilio administratorem dictæ ecclesiæ usque ad apostolicæ sedis beneplacitum, ordinamus, constituimus, & deputamus, administrationem plenam generalem & liberam ejusdem ecclesiæ ac bonorum & jurium ejusdem tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus plenarie committentes, ut dictam Wyntonien. ecclesiam tuæ administrationi commissam spiritualiter & temporaliter, statutis provincialibus seu consuetudinibus provinciæ Cantuarien. & illis præsertim quibus caveri dicitur quod ecclesiis cathedralibus provinciæ Cantuarien. vacantibus Archiepiscopus Cantuar. pro tempore existens in ipsis ecclesiis sic vacantibus spiritualia exerceat, & aliis contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque, juxta datam tibi a Deo prudentiam, regas dirigas & augmentes, ac etiam canoniciatus & præbendas, dignitates, personatus, officia & alia quæcumque beneficia ecclesiastica secularia & regularia ad collationem Episcopi Wynton. pro tempore existentis pertinentia, cum vacabunt, conferas & de ipsis provideas, nec non de fructibus, redditibus, proventibus, juribus, & obventionibus universis ad mensam Wyntonien. spectantibus ordinare & disponere valeas, prout veri Episcopi Wynton. qui fuerint pro tempore de illis ordinare & disponere potuerunt ac etiam debuerunt, alienatione quorumlibet immobilium & pretiosorum mobilium ejusdem ecclesiæ tibi penitus interdicta. Tu igitur circa ejusdem ecclesiæ Wynton. regimen & administrationem sollicite & fideliter exerceenda te sic exhibeas

a 4

studiosum,

viii A P P E N D I X.

studiosum, quod ecclesia ipsa, divina tibi favente clementia, sub administratione tua provida & salubri votivis continue in spiritualibus & temporalibus amplietur commodis & salubribus proficiat incrementis, nosque per tuæ circumspectionis & diligentiae studium fructuosum dignis te possimus in Domino laudibus merito commendare. Dat Avinion. iiii. Id. Decembr. Pontificat. nostri anno quinto.

N° VI.

E Registro Wykeham, Part. tert. a. fol. 135.
Bulla Domini Papæ directa Domino Episcopo Wyntonien.

GREGORIUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili fratri Episcopo Wyntonien. Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Nuper gratanter accepimus qualiter carissimi in Christo filii nostri Edwardus Angliæ & Carolus Francorum Reges illustres ambaxiatores suos solennes pro tractatu pacis inter ipsos Reges dante Domino peragendæ Brugis destinarunt, ac eidem Regi Angliæ super hoc scribimus eum ad bonam pacem gratulose exhortando: verum cum hujusmodi pacis negotium inter cætera nobis incumbens, prout novit altissimus, & alias tibi scripsimus, cordi nec immerito habeamus, & dubitemus, si tractatus hujusmodi quod absit rumpetur, quod peccatis exigentibus tarde vel nunquam inter dictos Reges pax resurgeret peroptata, ac in præmissis favor tuus sit plurimum opportunus, fraternitatem tuam nobis earam rogamus & hortamur attente, quatenus pro nostra & apostolicæ sedis reverentia & etiam tuæ salutis intuitu apud eundem Regem Angliæ, quod nostris in hac parte precibus annuat, opem des prout plene confidimus & operam efficaces. Præterea cum pro relevandis oneribus expensarum nobis & Romanæ ecclesiæ, ut nos & ipsam Romanam ecclesiam ejusque jura & bona in partibus Italiæ ab invadentium manibus defendamus eorumque resistamus injuriis & jacturis, incumbentium, ad
quos

quos sufficere non possumus, in Franciæ & Hispaniæ regnis nec non in Alamanio aliisque partibus fidelium personis ecclesiasticis certa subsidia duxerimus imponenda, quæ quidem personæ ecclesiasticæ in hijs nobis prout tenebantur, quamvis propter guerras & alias causas multiplicibus oneribus fatigatæ essent, pro majori parte paruerunt; ac clero regni Angliæ, qui in redditibus habundat, & quod quidem regnum favente Domino in se guerris non conturbatur, certum moderatum subsidium, prout alias tibi scripsimus, duxerimus imponendum, quod tamen nondum extitit persolutum: nosque & dicta Romana ecclesia, tam propter præmissas quam alias rationabiles causas devotorum subsidis plus solito egeamus de præsentis, eandem fraternitatem tuam, quam in adimplendis votis nostris promptam semper invenimus & paratam, ut carius possumus deprecamur, quatenus pro nostra & apostolicæ sedis reverentia, & sicut nobis placere desideras, hujusmodi clerum Angliæ ad solvendum prædictum subsidium vls & modis quibus poteris inducere non postponas. Dilectum siquidem filium Arnaldum Garneril Canonicum Cathalaunen. licentiatum in legibus in regno Angliæ apostolicæ sedis nuncium, & fructuum & proventuum ibidem cameræ apostolicæ debitorem, collectorem, cui aliqua tibi referenda commissimus, & quem una cum juribus prædictæ cameræ nostræ recommendamus, ad partes illas destinamus, cui fidem indublam adhibeas in dicendis. Dat Avinion. xlii Kal. April. pont. nostri, anno quinto.

N° VII.

¶ Registro Wykeham. Part. tert. a. fol. 98.
Instrumentum super conventionione inter Episcopum Wynton. & Richardum de Herton Grammaticum.

IN Dei nomine Amen, Anno ab Incarnatione Domini secundum cursum & computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Millesimo Trecentesimo Septuagesimo Tertio, indictione undecima, Mensis Septembris die prima, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris & Domini nostri Domini

X A P P E N D I X

Domini Gregorii divina providentia Papæ undecimi anno tertio, constitutus personaliter coram Reverendo Patre Domino Wilhelmo Del gratia Wynton. Episcopo in aula manerii sui de Merewell Wynton. Dioceseos, in mei Notarii Publici & Testium subscriptorum præsentia, Venerabilis & discretus vir Magister Richardus de Herton Grammaticus certam conventionem cum eodem Domino Winton. Episcopo fecit iniri & firmavit sub hac forma; videlicet, quod idem Richardus per decem annos incipiendo in festo Sancti Michaelis proximo futuro instruet & informabit sub hac forma pauperes Scholares quos dictus Dominus Episcopus suis sumptibus exhibet & exhibebit fideliter & diligenter in arte grammatica & nullos alios sine licentia dicti patris ad doctrinam huiusmodi recipiet per tempus prædictum, exceptit tamen tempus infirmitatis suæ & tempus quo curiam Romanam semel visitabit suis propriis sumptibus, & per idem tempus alium virum sufficientem & idoneum pro doctrina dictorum Scolarum substituere loco suo. Ad hæc convenit cum dicto Patre, quod idem Pater inveniet & exhibebit sibi unum alium virum idoneum qui eum poterit adjuvare in labore disciplinæ Scolarum prædictorum: hæc promisit firmiter idem Magister Richardus cum omni diligentia perficere & implere & super firmitate illius conventionis tenendæ & servandæ idem Magister Richardus [per] manum suam dextram in manu dextra dicti patris expresse posuit & dedit fidem suam ad præmissa omnia perficienda in forma supradicta. Acta sunt hæc anno indictione mense die pontificatu & loco prænotatis, præsentibus discretis viris Magistris Johanne de Bukyngham Canonico Ebor. & Domino Johanne de Campeden Canonico Ecclesiæ Suwellen. Ebor. Dioc. & Henrico de Thorp ac Johanne de Kelleseye Notariis Publicis apostolicis, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter & rogatis.

A P P E N D I X. xl

N^o VIII.

E Registro Wykeham. Part. tert. b. fol. 74.
Littera visitandi Scholares & Collegium Oxoniæ.

WILHELMUS permissione divina Wyntonien. Episcopus Collegii Sanctæ Mariæ Wynton. in Oxonia Fundator pariter & Patronus, dilectis nobis in Christo venerabilibus viris Magistris Thomæ de Southam, Archidiacono Oxon. in Ecclesia Lincoln. ac Nicholao de Wykeham Archid. Wiltes. in Ecclesia Sar. Salutem in amplexibus Salvatoris. Relacione fide dignorum audita stupor non modicus invasit subito mentem nostram, dum in vinea nostra quam plantavimus deficientibus uvis succrescant labruscæ, palmites quoque quas sperabamus fructíferas amaricato germine in spuria vitulamina convertantur. Accepimus namque tale inter Scholares nostri Collegii supradicti qui de nostra vivunt elemosina corrupcionis piaculum irrepsisse, quod ipsi suæ condicionis & quietis propriæ paulisper oblit, generis ad genus, nobilitatis ad ignobilitatem, scientiæ ad scientiam, facultatis ad facultatem, patriæ ad patriam, & alias comparaciones quæ odiosæ sunt faciunt insolenter contra doctrinam Apostoli acceptores personarum effecti; alii præterea superstitione prophana colla sua in sublime alcius erigentes, dum refectionis gratia conveniunt ad mensam sibi vendicant loca prima præceptum dominicum minime amplectentes, dicentis, Qui major est inter vos fiat sicut junior, & qui præcessor fiat sicut minister. Nonnulli quoque ipsorum insolentiis aliis quas numerare non decet, set nec committere licet, a veræ virtutis tramite deviantes exhibent se frequenter. Unde in ipso nostro Collegio inter Scholares prædictos dissensiones contenciones & scandala oriuntur & quod dolenter referimus quæ nostræ mentis intentio Dei paravit ad gloriam tendunt ad noxam. Ex quibus divina provocatur magestas, dictumque nostrum Collegium, utpote in suis membris nequiter viciatum grave patitur detrimentum in perniciosum exemplum & scandalum

xii A P P E N D I X.

scandalum plurimorum. Nolentes itaque dictum nostrum Collegium tantis fœdari maculis, quin potius cupientes firmissime ut omnis ab ipso eliminetur spurcitia, quodque Scolares prædicti, viciorum sentibus extirpatis, virtutibus illustrentur, doctrinis sacris efficaciter adhæreant & miliciæ clericali: Ad inquirendum igitur tam in genere quam in specie de & super criminibus & excessibus omnium & singulorum Scolarum nostri Collegii memorati & quos in præmissis aut eorum aliquo vel aliis excessibus gravibus seu criminibus culpabiles reperitis, ipsos cujuscunque gradus status vel conditionis existant, a dicto nostro Collegio perpetuo expellend. nisi de ipsorum correptione celeri & morum in ea parte reformatione salubri spes fuerit ac vobis signanter apparuerit; tunc enim excessus hujusmodi & crimina sicut pro ipsius honore ac conservatione status dicti nostri Collegii videritis expedire, corrigend. & acrius puniend. Cætera insuper quæ in ipso nostro Collegio reformatione indigent, debite reformand. omniaque alia & singula quæ in præmissis & circa ea necessaria fuerint, vel quomodolibet opportuna, cum eorum incidentibus emergentibus dependentibus & connexis faciend & etiam exercend. Vobis de quorum fidelitate conscientie puritate ac circumspeditionis industria plene confidimus, tenore præsentium committimus vices nostras cum coercitionis & executionis in hac parte debitæ potestate. Dat. in Castro nostro de Farnham vigesimo octavo die mensis Septembr. Anno Domini Millesimo Trecentesimo Octogesimo Quinto. et nostræ Consecrationis Anno Decimo Octavo.

Nº IX.

E Registro Wykeham, Part. tert. b. fol. 77.

Litera tangens Collegium Oxon.

WILHELMUS permissione divina Wynton.
Episcopus, Fundator & Patronus Col. sanctæ
Mariæ Wyntonæ in Oxonia, dilecto nobis in Christo
Custodi

A P P E N D I X. xiii

Custodi dicti nostri Collegii Salutem in omnipotente Salvatore. Relacione didicimus fide digna, quod nonnulli dicti nostri Collegii Socii Magistri Artium, qui licet formam lecturæ in artium facultate in Universitate Oxoniæ statutam ac etiam requisitam compleverint, nec non per unum annum ultra formam eandem in facultate prædicta lecturam continuaverint, ipsi tamen contra ordinationes nostras & statuta per nos edita & debite promulgata, nec non eisdem a multis retroactis temporibus sæpius divulgata, lecturæ hujusmodi continuo intendentes ad facultatem theologiæ seu astronomiæ juxta ordinationes & statuta nostra prædicta se convertere hactenus non curarunt, quodque ipsi & alii focii nonnulli nostri Collegii memorati per vicos & plateas infra Universitatem publice incedentes chimeris vel tabardis superius minime induuntur contra ordinationes & statuta superius memorata: Cum igitur sic nostræ intencionis existat, quod Magistri Artium dicti nostri Collegii, completis forma & anno prædictis, ad theologiæ seu astronomiæ facultatem illico se convertant, quodque ipsi & alii focii quicumque nostri Collegii supradicti cum extra dictum nostrum Collegium infra Universitatem prædictam & etiam per spacium miliaris circumquaque Universitatem eandem inceserint, capis, chimeris, vel tabardis longis & talaribus prout ipsorum gradibus & statibus congruit & non aliis vestibus superius induantur: Vobis committimus & mandamus, quatenus statim visis præsentibus absque moræ dispendio Magistros Artium quoscumque nostri Collegii supradicti, qui formam & annum de quibus præmittitur compleverint, moneatis & efficaciter inducatis, quatenus a lectura & regimine in artium facultate statim sine mora cessent omnino, & ad theologiæ seu astronomiæ facultatem absque moræ dispendio effectualiter se convertant, & studeant ac proficiant efficaciter in eadem; & quod ipsi & cæteri quicumque focii supradicti cum extra dictum nostrum Collegium infra Universitatem & spacium supradictum inceserint chimeris capis vel longis tabardis prout eis congruit superius induantur, nisi necessitate cogente aliud fuerit faciendum, juxta ordinationes & statuta nostra prædicta.

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dicta. Contradictores vero & rebelles, aut monitionibus vestris hujusmodi ymmo verius (*nostris*) effectualiter non parentes, a dicto nostro Collegio perpetuo expellatis. Certificantes nos infra quatuor dierum spacium a tempore receptionis presentium quid inveneritis & feceritis in præmissis. Dat. in manerio nostro de Suthwerk vigesimo die Maii, Anno Domini Millesimo Trecentesimo Octagesimo Sexto, et nostræ Conf. Decimo Nono.

N° X.

E Registro Wykeham. Part. tert. b. fol. 88.

Littera ut ydonei Scholares eligantur in Coll. Oxon. & Wynton. absque partialitate aliqua,

SALUTEM cum benedictione Dei atque nostra. Carissimi, mittimus ad vos Johannem Everad & Johannem Compton pauperes Clericulos de Capella nostra ut in Collegium nostrum Wynton. admittantur: Volumus igitur ut cum ipsi ad vos venerint ex hac causa in dictum nostrum Collegium recipiatis eosdem. Vobis præterea injungentes quatenus in electionibus apud Coll. nostrum Wynt. jam proxime faciendis primo videlicet de Scholaribus ipsius nostri Coll. Wynt. ad Coll. nostrum Oxon. assumendis, ac deinde de Scholaribus aliis loco ipsorum in dictum nostrum Coll. Wynt. eligendis taliter procedatis ut absque prece aut precio favore vel amore seu partialitate quacumque, per vos tales præcipue in dictum nostrum Coll. Oxon. eligantur qui in grammatica bene & sufficienter fuerint eruditi, vitæque & moribus merito commendandi, & quos speraveritis in vestris conscientiis plus posse proficere & debere in Collegio nostro Oxon. supradiçto. Quodque in præfatum Coll. nostrum Wynt. habiles & magis ydoneos eligatis de locis in nostris Statutis limitatis. Ita tamen quod quatuor de paroch. de Broghton, & totidem de paroch. de Downton, si habiles & ydonei reperiantur, in dicta electione cæteris præferantur.

A P P E N D I X. xv

Hoc insuper proviso, quod Scholares hujusmodi in dictum nostrum Coll. Wynt. assumendi in lectura & plano cantu ac in antiquo donato instructi competenter existant, ætatisque suæ annum duodecimum non excedant, nisi taliter in grammatica prius fuerint informati, quod ante decimum nonum ætatis suæ annum in ipsa poterint sufficienter expediri, Statutis nostris electionem dictorum Scholarum Oxon. & Wynton. concernentibus in omnibus semper salvis, super quibus omnibus ipsas vestras conscientias apud Altissimum districtius oneramus. Volentes præterea & ordinantes quod Scholares dicti nostri Coll. Wynton. singulis diebus dominicis & festivis ad ecclesiam parochialem Sancti Johannis super montem accedant, quamdiu in dicta paroch. ipsos morari contigerit, ibidemque ad vespervas completor. matutinas & alias horas atque missas de die legenda & psallenda cum nota & cantu more ecclesiastico legant atque psallant devocius sicut decet, quodque nullus hujusmodi Scolariū a præmissis se absentet nisi ex causa legitima per ipsorum Magistrum seu ejus Locumtenentem approbanda fuerit impeditus sub pœna privationis communarum suarum per quindecim dies diem quo se absque causa hujusmodi legitima se absentaverit immediate sequentes. Volumus insuper & vos, Magistri Nicholaë, Thoma Cranlegh, & Johannes de Ketone, attente rogamus quatenus Magistro Johanni de Melton dictorum Scolariū Magistro informatori & Johanni Seward ejus Vicesgerenti firmiter injungatis ut ipsi hæc omnia proxime superius recitata a dictis Scolariis nostri Coll. Wynt. de cætero realiter & debite faciant observari sub debito eorum juramenti nobis præstiti ab eisdem. Valete feliciter in Filio Virginis gloriosæ. Script. apud Essthere octavo die mensis Aprilis. Dilecto consanguineo nostro Magistro Nicholao Wykeham Custodi Coll. nostri Oxon. & Magistris Thomæ Cranlegh Sacræ Paginæ Professori, Domino Johanni Ketone, ac Johanni Melton.

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Nº XI.

E Registro Wykeham, Part. tert. b. fol. 139.

Intimacio resignacionis Thomæ Cranlegh, & quod
Socii & Scholares procedant ad eleccionem novi
Custodis.

WILHELMUS de Wykeham permissione di-
vina Wynton. Episcopus Coll. Beate Marie
Wynton. in Oxon. Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre
in Oxenford, vulgarit. nuncupat. Fundator & Patronus,
Dilectis in Christo Filiis Sociis & Scholaribus ejusdem
Coll. universis Salutem in eo qui est omnium vera Salus.
Vobis præsentibus nostris literis intimamus, quod Ma-
gister Thomas Cranlegh nuper Custos dicti Coll. nostri,
decimo quinto die præsentis mensis Febr. coram nobis
in manerio nostro de Waltham nostræ dioc. officio
custodiæ Coll. supradicti cessit & voluntarie renuncia-
vit, eo quod in obsequiis Domini nostri Regis ipsum in-
sistere necessario oportebit: cujus cessionem ex causa
prædicta admisimus tunc ibidem. Ne igitur vacacio
diutina dicti nostri Coll. vobis in personis & rebus sit
grave dispendium allatura, & ut præfatum nostrum
Coll. sub boni Custodis regimine protegatur a noxiis,
ac pacis & caritatis affluat ubertate, Nos qui pro vobis
intenta sollicitudine vigilamus, quos etiam tanquam fi-
lios carissimos in vinculo dilectionis paternæ prosequi-
mur, * tanta mente universitatem vestram & devotionem
monemus, & per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri ac per
aspercionem sui preciosi sanguinis, animarumque ves-
trarum salutem, nec non sub divini obtestacione judicii
obsecramur & in Domino exhortamur, ut in eleclione
vestri futuri Custodis solum Deum ac communem Col-
legii prædicti utilitatem habentes præ oculis, omni pri-
vatæ affectionis & singularitatis vitio deposito, & quib-
uslibet paccionibus, convencionibus, promissionibus,
obligationibus, juramentis & conventiculis illicitis, nec
non condicti & intendimenti contemplacione cessanti-

* Legendum *totæ*, ut in similibus locis in eodem Registro.

A P P E N D I X: xvii

bus & omnino semotis, vos in vinculo pacis caritatis & concordie colligentes, cum omni sollicitudine maturitate & deliberatione, juxta nostrorum Statutorum exigenciam & tenorem, virum providum & discretum, litterarum scientia moribus & virtuosis actibus merito commendandum, in spiritualibus & temporalibus plurimum circumspectum, talem viz. quem secundum Deum & vestras conscientias justas vacanti Coll. antedicto utiliorem & magis ydoneum esse credideritis, in Custodem vestrum puris & liberis mentibus absque mora dispendio eligere studeatis, qui vobis plus prodesse cupiat, quam præesse; ut per ejus vigilanciam sollicitam probitatem & gubernacionem bonam, dictum Coll. nostrum ad Dei honorem ac Cleri augmentum prospere dirigi & votivis valeat commodis honorari; in præmissis taliter vos habentes, ut verus scrutator cordium quem nichil latere poterit ex factis & gestis vestris in hac parte merito contentetur. Dat. in manerio nostro de Suth-Waltham vigesimo sexto die mensis Febr. Anno Domini Millesimo Trecentesimo Nonagesimo Quinto, & nostræ Conf. Anno Vigesimo nono.

N° XII.

Ex Originali in Archivis Registrarii Archidiaconatus
Winton.

D E C R E T U M Domini Winton. Episcopi quoad
Resignationes tempore Supervisionis non admittendas.

CUM multæ quæstiones & controversiæ ortæ fuerint de tempore Supervisionis & Scrutinii in tertia Rubrica specificato, a quo momento, hora, & articulo temporis, aut actione, idem debeat & possit incipere ad effectum, ut post talem Inceptionem Scholares in indenturis anni præcedentis nominati nullatenus vigore earundem in Coll. Winton. admittantur, vel transmittantur ad Coll. Winton. in Oxon. Idcirco Dominus Episcopus Winton. facta ei prius legitima intimatione per Custodem & duos Socios Supervisores legitime electos ejusdem

b
dem

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dem Collegii in Oxon. Statutisque Supervisionem concernentibus, una cum variis ambiguitatibus & incommodis propter incertitudinem inceptionis prædictæ, eidem domino Episcopo ostensis & declaratis, declaravit, hunc esse verum, germanum, & literalem sensum verborum & clausulæ præfatorum; quod tempus supervisionis & scrutinii in dicta Rubric. mentionati tum demum debet incipere, atque adeo ad omnes effectus incipere censendum est, ubi primum advenerit, illuxeritque ille dies, qui in literis certificatoriis in dicta Rubr. specificatis, & ad Custodem Winton. missis, & per eundem in valvis ecclesiæ secundum tenorem Statuti præfixis, continetur, & designatur; ita quod neque toto illo die, neque postea aliquis, in indenturis iisdem, scilicet anni præcedentis, nominatus & descriptus, vigore & virtute earundem aliquod jus vel beneficium sit consecuturus, nimirum ut admittatur in Coll. Winton. vel ad alterum Coll. transmittatur ullo modo. Et ulterius cum saluberrimo hujus regni Statuto sancitum sit, ne quis locum habens in Collegiis, eundem lucri vel commodi aliquis gratia resignet quovis modo, atque contra hoc ipsum Statutum multipliciter peccari & delinqui posse sit vere-simillimum in grave scandalum Collegiorum dictorum, si resignationes dictorum Scholarium loca habentium in Collegiis Winton. & Oxon. tempore supervisionis & scrutinii prædicto acceplantur & admittantur, & cum etiam ejusmodi resignationes nullo Statuto dictorum Collegiorum approbentur, Idcirco Dominus Episcopus Winton. cupiens & affectans tam gravi scandalo occurrere tempestive, legitime interpellatus, decrevit & declaravit, quod nulla resignatio quam dictorum Collegiorum Scholares tempore supervisionis sic superius declarato scribent, conficient, offerent, tradent, vel scribi, confici, offerri, vel tradi facient, aut consentient, ullo modo in eo ipso tempore supervisionis prædictæ accipiat, approbetur, † vel admittatur, ulla judicetur per Custodes aut Vicecustodes dictorum Collegiorum, aut alios quoscunque jus habentes admittendi probandique resignationes præfatas. Et si aliqua personarum præfa-

† Lege, admittatur, vel—

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tarum contra hujusmodi decretum & declarationem contra-venerit, eundem videri committere & peccare in grave prædictorum Collegiorum scandalum, & omnem talem admissionem, approbationem, & acceptionem, in & de omni præfato medio supervisionis tempore factam aut confirmatam, pro gravi in Collegia prædicta scandalo haberi & judicari. Quibus omnibus decretis functionibusque & justissimis declarationibus dicti Domini Episcopi Winton. Custodes utriusque Collegii una cum reliquis electoribus unanimi consensu assenserunt. Ei præterea præfati Custodes, ut manifestius & abundantius ostenderent quam perniciofa ipsis videretur hujusmodi resignationum consuetudo, sponte sua affirmarunt, & in se reciperunt, ne posthac unquam ullam resignationem Scholarium ipsis subditorum admittant, vel effectualiter accipiat eorum alter, per septem integras septimanas ante tempus supervisionis prædictæ quotannis celebrandæ: quam eorum honestissimam promissionem dictus Dominus Episcopus ratificavit, [&] Custodibus & Vicecustodibus injungens eorundem Collegiorum pro tempore existentibus, ne ipsi ejusmodi resignationes infra tempus prædictum septem septimanarum admittant, nisi vellent pro manifestis contemptoribus ordinis salubriter constituti, & corruptelæ perditissimæ fautoribus, & gravis scandali procuratoribus judicari.

THOMAS WINTON.

Martyn Culpeper Custos.	Tho. Blisfen Custos.
Edwarde Burley.	Johan. Boles.
Henry Marten.	Johannes Harmar.

Subscripta erat hæc scedula decreti & declarationis Reverendi in Christo Patris Domini Thomæ Winton. Episcopi, per eundem Dominum Episcopum in manerio suo de Waltham Episcopi, perque prædictos Custodes utriusque Collegii cum reliquis electoribus infra Collegium Winton. Vicesimo Septimo die Augusti Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Nongesimo Secundo.

Teste

Edwardo Cole Notario publico.

N° XIII.

E Veteri Registro Coll. Winton.

MEMORANDUM quod primus adventus Serenissimi Principis Henrici Sexti ad istud Collegium fuit penultimo die Mensis Julii, videlicet die Sabati Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quadragesimo, & Anno ejusdem Domini Regis Decimo Nonno, quo die interfuit primis Vesperis, & in crastino Misse & secundis Vesperis; & obtulit xlii s. iij d.

ITEM Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quadragesimo Quarto in festo Sancte Cecille Virginis idem Christianissimus Rex Henricus Sextus interfuit in hoc Collegio utrisque Vesperis atque Misse, in qua preter oblationem suam cotidianam obtulit centum nobilia ad ornamentum summi altaris ibidem, contulitque notabilem auri summam Scholaribus & Choristis in eodem, videlicet vj ll. xlii s. iij d. qui insuper ex habundancia affluentissime gratie sue privilegia libertates & franchiseas ejusdem Collegii confirmavit & ampliavit; quare dignum est ut ejus in eodem perhennis memoria jugiter habeatur. Et obtulit xlii s. iij d.

ITEM idem Christianissimus Rex Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quadragesimo Quinto, & anno regni ejusdem Regis Vicesimo Quarto, interfuit die dominica, videlicet in festo Sancti Cuthberti in mense Septembri, in hoc Collegio utrisque Vesperis atque Misse, quo die ex gratia sua dedit Collegio optimam Robam suam una excepta furrat. cum furrura de Sables, ad Dei laudem & honorem beatissime Marie Virginis. Et obtulit xlii s. iij d.

ITEM idem illustrissimus Princeps Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quadragesimo Sexto, & anno regni ejusdem Regis Vicesimo Quinto, in festo Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco, videlicet septimo die Maii contingente in dominica, interfuit utrisque Vesperis atque Misse in hoc Collegio, quo die similiter ex
gracia

gracia sua dedit Collegio vj l. xij s. iij d. Et obtulit eodem tempore ad vices xij s. iij d.

ITEM idem illustrissimus Princeps Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quadragesimo Octavo & Anno regni ejusdem Regis Vicesimo Septimo, in festo Sancti Wolstani Episcopi, interfuit in hoc Collegio utrisque Vesperis die dominica, sed non Misse, quia exhibuit presenciam suam in ecclesia Sancti Swythuni in missa propter intronizationem reverendi Patris & Domini Domini Wilhelmi Waynesfete Episcopi Wynton. nuper magistri informatoris Scolarum hujus Collegii. In crastino vero in die lune in festo sanctorum Fabiani & Sebastiani martyr. Idem metuendissimus Dominus interfuit alte Misse predictorum Sanctorum in hoc Collegio, quo die dedit huic Collegio unum calicem de auro, & x lib. in auro pro uno parl. folarum ordinand. de eodem auro; & ultra ex sua magna gracia dedit iij s. iij d. pro una pletancia habenda inter Socios & Scholares in festo purificationis beate Marie extunc proximo sequente. Et obtulit xij s. iij d.

ITEM Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quadragesimo Nono, & Anno regni ejusdem Regis Henrici Sexti Vicesimo Septimo, videlicet decimo sexto die mensis Junii in parlamento ejusdem Regis tento hic apud Winton. cum prorogatione dierum usque ad decimum sextum diem mensis Julii inclusive, interfuit idem excellentissimus Princeps in hoc Collegio in festo Sancti Albani martyris die dominica contingente utrisque Vesperis & Misse. Et obtulit xij s. iij d.

ITEM alia vice eodem tempore in festo Johannis Baptistæ interfuit idem metuendissimus Dominus Rex in hoc Collegio utrisque Vesperis & Misse, Reverendo Patre & Domino Domino Wilhelmo Waynsfete Episcopo Wynton. totum officium illius diei devotissime exequente. Et obtulit vj s. viij d.

ITEM alia vice eodem tempore in festo apostolorum Petri & Pauli interfuit idem Christianissimus Rex in hoc Collegio utrisque Vesperis & Matutinis die dominico, sed non Misse; quia exhibuit presenciam suam in ecclesia cathedrali Sancti Swythuni in Missa propter

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diei sollempnitatem ibidem, quia festum loel; Reverendo Patre Magistro Thoma Bekynton Episcopo Bathon. & Wellens. totum officium illius diei in hoc Collegio sollempnit. exequente, & totum Collegium ipso die lautissime convivante.

ITEM alla vice eodem tempore in Octabis apostolorum Petri & Pauli in dominica predictus serenissimus Rex interfuit in hoc Collegio Vesperis ipsius festi & Misse; primis Vesperis vero & secundis Matutinis & Misse in festo Translacionis Sancti Thomæ Martyris in crastino contingente consimiliter interfuit, totum officium illius diei Venerabili Patre Episcopo Wynton, exequente. Missam vero illius diei celebravit in hoc Collegio Reverendissimus Pater & Dominus Dominus Johannes Stafford Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Anglie Primas, apostolice sedis Legatus, & tunc Anglie Cancellarius, assistentibus eidem venerabilibus in Christo Patribus Wilhelmo Wynton. Episcopo, Wilhelmo Askewe Saresburienf. Episcopo, Adam Moleynes Cicestren. Episcopo tunc Custode privati sigilli Domini Regis, cum aliis notabilibus personis, videlicet Clerico Rotulorum, Clerico Parliamenti, & Clerico Hamperil, & multis aliis; quo die idem Pater Episcopus & Metropolitanus dedit Scholaribus pro refectione xls. Et obtulit xij s. iij d.

ITEM idem Dominus noster Rex alia vice in festo Reliquiar. videlicet decimo tertio die mensis Julii interfuit in hoc Collegio utrisque Vesperis Matutinis & Misse, Reverendo Patre Domino Episcopo Wynton officium illius diei exequente. Et obtulit vj s. viij d.

ITEM idem Christianissimus Rex ultimo die Parliamenti, videlicet decimo sexto die mensis Julii, interfuit in hoc Collegio Misse beatissime Marie Virginis, & obtulit vj s. viij d. Post dictam vero Missam obtulit Deo beate Marie & summo altari unum tabernaculum de auro.

ITEM alia vice idem Dominus noster Rex interfuit divinis officiis, videlicet Vesperis Processioni & Misse, in hoc Collegio, dominica in Ramis Palmarum, eodem die Magistro Thoma Chaundeler Custode istius Collegii

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legit post nonam coram eodem Domino Rege & populo sermonem faciente. Et obtulit xliij s. liij d. Et ultra ex sua magna græcia dedit summo altari dicti Collegii in auro e s. Officium istius diei exequente Custode istius Collegii.

ITEM idem Dominus noster christianissimus Rex ultima vice fuit in hoc Collegio in festo Translacionis Sancti Swythuni in utrisque Vesperis ejusdem Sancti, sed non in Missa, quia exhibuit presenciam suam in ecclesia Sancti Swythuni. Et obtulit idem Rex vj s. viij d.

Nº XIV.

E Registro Wykeham, Part. tert. b. fol. 166.

Executio cujusdam Brevis Regii de Juramento.

WILHELMUS permissione divina Wyntonien. Episcopus Dilectis in Christo filiis Priori Ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Wynton. Abbati Monasterii de Hyda nostre dioc. ac Magistro Johanni Elmer Offic. nostro Wynton. Salutem Gratiam & Benedictionem. Breve Domini nostri Regis cum quodam transcripto dicto brevi intercluso recepimus in hec verba. Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ Venerabili in Christo Patri W. eadem gratia Episcopo Wynton. Salutem. Cum Drugo Barentyn Major Civitatis nostræ London. ac Aldermanni & Cives, nec non ceteri Communes ejusdem Civitatis ad omnia & singula statuta ordinationes & stabilimenta in ultimo Parlamento nostro apud Westm. tento & usque Salop. adjornato edita ordinata & stabilita, una cum omnibus judiciis & ordinationibus apud Coventr. virtute & auctoritate ejusdem Parliamenti redditis editis atque factis, ac cum omnibus dependenciis & omnibus aliis que inde sequi possunt pro se & successoribus suis singulariter & generaliter bene & fideliter observand. in perpetuum sacramenta super sancta Dei Evangelia præstiterint corporalia, & pro majori securitate ac veritatis præmissorum testimonio ad quandam cedula[m] formam sacramenti

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menti prædicti continentem, ejus transcriptum vobis mittimus præsentibus interclusum, sigilla sua apposuerint; Nos consimilia sacramenta & securitatem de universis & singulis Ligis nostris regni nostri Anglie de statu reputatis habere volentes vobis mandamus, quod statim visis præsentibus ac inspecto transcripto prædicto omnes & singulos Abbates Priores Decanos & Archidiaconos de dioc. vestra ac alias personas ecclesiasticas ejusdem dioc. coram vobis ad certos dies & loca, quos ad hoc provideritis, infra eandem dioc. cum omni celeritate & festinatione qua poteritis venire fac. & sacramenta hujusmodi ab eisdem Abbatibus Prioribus Decanis & Archidiaconis ac aliis prædictis, quod ipsi & successores sui præmissa modo & forma quibus in dicto transcripto fit mencio conformiter pro parte sua observabunt, recipiatis, & ejusdem sacramenti formam in cedula consimilem redigatis, præfatosque Abbates Priores Decanos Archidiaconos & alias personas prædictas eandem cedula sigillis suis consignare fac. & cedula illam cum sic consignata fuerit una cum certificatione totius facti vestri in hac parte nobis in cancellar. nostrum sub sigillo vestro distincte & apte sine dilacione mittatis, & hoc Breve. T. meipso apud Westm. octavo stie Februar. Anno regni nostri Vicesimo Secundo. Tenor quidem transcripti de quo præfatur talis est. A tres excellente magesté de notre tres redouté & tres souverain Seigneur le Roy Richard puis le Conquest Seconde Nous voz humblez & loyals lieges des corps & des cuers de votre citée de Londres avons & chescun de nous ad tres bien entenduz coment vos lieges de vo're roialme pour la greindre parti ont si come à eux appartient à toute obeissance & humilitéé jurez promys & reconuz souz leur faitz seallez de severalment & generalment tenir toutz les estatutz ordinances & establissementz faitz ordelgnez & establiz en votre honorable Parlement darrein tenuz à Westm. continuez à Salopblra oue toutz les jugementz & ordeinances, faitz & renduz à Coventr. par virtue & auctorité du dit Parlement si come en lour submissions obeissances promesses & reconssances est assez clerement contenuz; sur quoy nous

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nous voz fufditz humbles lieges qī à votre tres excel-
lente mageſté roiale volons & vorrons à toutz jours faire
loialment de trestoutz noz poalrs tout qanq à ycelle
mageſté purra en aſcune maniere faire plefance lez ditz
eſtatutz ordelnances & eſtabliffementz oue les depen-
dences & quanq ent purra ſulr pour nous & pour noz
heirs & ſucceſſours devrons & devons ſumez tenuz &
ferrons volons & voudrons tenir & eſtre tenuz pour
toutz jours ſanz jammes venir ne faire ne ſuffrer eſtre
fait par aſcune perſonne de quelle condiclon ou eſtat qīl
ſoit aſcunement alencontre en nulle guiſe & ſi aſcun y
ſoit q Dieu defende qattempte face attempter ou velulle
attempter ou faire au contralre en tout ou en partie
nous les ferrons & cheſcun de nous le ferra impedier
deſtoubrier & empescher oue toutz noz corps & biens
pour vivre & pour morir & de tout ceo q. impedier ne
deſtoubrier ne purrons le ferrons ſanz delay aſcun noti-
fier & atreteiner à votre dicte mageſté Rolale. Et à
ceo fermement & loialment tenir pour nous & pour noz
heirs & ſucceſſours à toutz jours nous Dreu Barentyn
mair aldermans citezeins & communes de votre dite ci-
tée promettons & jurons ſur les ſeintz Eyangelles &
cheſcun de nous promette fait foy & jure & pour
greindre ſeurté à iceſtes preſentz lettres mettons noz
ſealx en teſmoignance de noz faitz & de la verité.
Doné, &c. Nos igitur aliis dicti Domini nostri Regis
variis & arduis præpediti negotiis dictum breve quovis
modo perſonaliter exequi non valentes ad venire faci-
end. omnes & ſingulos Abbates Priores Decanos & Ar-
chidiaconum ac alias perſonas eccleſiaſticas Archidiacona-
tus Wynton. coram vobis ad certos dies & loca quos ad
hoc provideritis infra Archidiaconatum prædictum cum
omni celeritate feſtinaclone qua poteritis & ſacramen-
ta hujumodi ab eiſdem Abbatibus Prioribus Decanis &
Archidiacono ac aliis prædictis quod ipſi & ſucceſſores
ſui præmiſſa modo & forma quibus in dicto tranſcripto
ſit menclo conformiter pro parte ſua obſervabunt reci-
piend. & ejuſdem ſacramenti formam in cedula conſi-
mitem redigend. præfatoſque Abbates Priores Decanos
Archidiaconum & alias perſonas prædictas eandem ce-
dulam

dulam sigillis suis consignare faciend. ceteraque omnia & singula que in præmissis vel circa ea necessaria fuerint vel quomodolibet opportuna exercend. expediend. & fideliter exequend. vobis de quorum fidelitate & circumspeditionis industria plenam in Domino obtinemus fiduciam committimus vices nostras cum cujuslibet coercionis canonice potestate : Vobis insuper & cuilibet vestrum in virtute obediencie firmiter injungendo mandamus quatinus hanc nostram commissionem secundum omnem vim formam & effectum supradicti brevis exequamini indilate. Et cedulam illam de forma sacramenti prædicta cum sic consignata fuerit una cum certificatione totius facti vestri in hac parte nobis infra unum mensem a dat. præsentium continue numerand. sub sigillis vestris distincte & apte sine dilacione mittatis. Quod si non omnes præsentem nostram commissionem potuerint exequi ut præfertur Volumus quod duo vestrum ipsam nihilominus exequantur. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum fecimus hijs apponi. Dat. in manerio nostro de Essher decimo quarto die mensis Maii Anno Domini Millesimo Trecentesimo Nonagesimo Nono, & nostræ Conf. Anno Tricesimo Secundo.

N° XV.

E Registro Wykeham, part. tert. b. fol. 164.

MANDATUM super moderatione Statuti editi contra
Provisores.

WILHELMUS permissione divina Wyntonlen. Episcopus Dilecto in Christo filio Offic. Archidiaconi nostri Winton. Salutem Graciam & Benedictionem. Literas Reverendi in Christo Patris & Domini Domini Roberti Del gratia Londonlen. Episcopi nup. recepimus in hec verba. Reverendo in Christo Patri ac Domino Domino Wilhelmo Del gratia Wintonlen. Episcopo Robertus permissione divina Londonlen. Episcopus Salutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Literas Reverendissimi in Christo Patris & Domini Domini

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mini Rogeri Dei gracia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi tocius Anglie Primatis & apostolice sedis legati nup. recepimus in hec verba. Rogerus permissione divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus tocius Anglie Primas & apostolice sedis Legatus Venerabili fratri nostro Domino Roberto Dei gratia Londonien. Episcopo Salutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Breve regium una cum quadam cedula in eodem inclusa nup. recepimus in hec verba: Ricardus Dei gracia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ Venerabili in Christo Patri R. eadem gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuar. tocius Anglie Primate Salutem. Licet nuper quoddam Statutum in Parlamento nostro apud Westm. anno regni nostri tertiodecimo tento contra Provisores editum ob honorem Dei & sancte Romane Ecclesie ac propter præcipuam affectionem quam erga Dominum Summum Pontificem modernum obtinemus, contemplacione eci- am Venerabilis Patris P. Aquensis Episcopi apostolice sedis Nuncii quem eo quod noster est ligeus & magis nobis acceptus ultra omnes alios pro hac materia inantea prosequentes uberius prosperari affectamus aliququaliter moderari ac moderationem illam Statuto prædicto aut aliis in contrarium ordinatis non obstantibus fieri & tolerari a festo conceptionis beate Marie ultimo præterito ad proximum Parliamentum nostrum locum tenere & effectum sortiri & gerere Volentes formam & tenorem moderacionis & tolerancie prædictarum Vobis miserimus brevi nostro Vobis inde nuper directo interclusos mandantes quod pro inviolabili & inconcussa observacione moderacionis huiusmodi per tanti temporis spaciū tolerande partes vestras quatenus ad officium vestrum attinet pastorale adhiberetis sollicitas & discretas & ulterius ceteris confratribus Coepiscopis & Suffraganeis vestris Cant. province moderacionem prædictam per litteras vestras præmissorum seriem continentes in hac parte debite consiliendi, cum omni celeritate qua commode potuissetis intimaretis et notificaretis ac teneri & observari dementeretis: Quibusdam tamen certis de causis coram nobis per præfatum Episcopum Aquensem expositis & declaratis nos

intime

intime moventibus moderacionem & toleranciam hujusmodi Statuti usque ad festum Pasche proxime futurum & ab inde usque ad idem festum tunc proxime sequens locum tenere & in omnibus effectum sortiri & gerere volumus, & ideo vobis mandamus quod pro debita observacione moderacionis hujusmodi usque ad dictum posterius festum Pasche tolerande partes vestras quatenus ad officium vestrum pastorale noveritis pertinere adhibeatis sollicitas & discretas, & ulterius ceteris confratribus Coepiscopis & Suffraganeis vestris Cantuar. Provincie moderacionem prædictam cujus tenorem vobis mittimus præsentibus interclusum per literas vestras præmissorum seriem continentes in hac parte debite conficiend. cum omni celeritate qua commode poteritis intimetis & notificetis ac teneri & observari demandetis: injungentes eisdem ex parte nostra quod singuli eorum hujusmodi moderacionem per literas suas sub forma qua decet similiter conficiend. aliis prælatis & clero suarum dioc. publice intimari & notificari ac teneri & servari fac. sub periculo quod incumbit priore mandato nostro prædicto non obstante. T. meipso apud Coventr. decimo sexto die Januarii anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo. Tenor vero cedule de qua præfertur sequitur in hec verba. Quantum ad moderacionem contentorum sub statuto talis prout sequitur est Domini nostri Regis intencio quod ob honorem Dei & sancte Romane Ecclesie & propter præcipuam affectionem quam obtinet penes Dominum nostrum Summum Pontificem modernum contemplacione etiam Reverendi Patris Domini Petri Dei gracia Aquensis Episcopi apostolice sedis Nuncii quem eo quod suus est ligeus & magis sibi acceptus affectat ultra omnes alios pro hac materia inantea prosequentes uberius prosperari non obstante statuto vel aliis in contrarium ordinatis tolerabitur usque ad proximum Parliamentum prout inferius est inscriptum. In primis videlicet quantum ad dignitates episcopales cum vacuerint expectato congruo tempore pro electionum in Curia representatione Summus Pontifex provideat electo si Rex pro eo scripserit vel alteri Domini nostri Regis ligeo sibi grato & accepto.

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cepto. Item quantum ad provisionem in Cathedralibus & collegiatis ecclesiis providebit Summus Pontifex Cardinalibus vel aliis Anglicis de tribus de cetero vacaturis in singulis ecclesiis supradictis sub hac forma quod post provisionem unam auctoritate papali habeat Ordinarius secundam & sic vicissim quousque per sedem apostolicam facta sit in tribus provisio in reliquis autem vacaturis penes Ordinarium remanebit collatio. Set tamen Dominis Cardinalibus non providebitur de dignitatibus electivis quibuscunque nec principalibus in collegiatis vel aliquibus beneficiis curatis seu residenciam vel personale administrationis exercitium de jure vel consuetudine requireribus: Aliquibus tamen alienigenis nisi Cardinalibus infra regnum nullatenus providebit. Item quantum ad provisiones de collationibus Ordinarium vel aliorum spiritualium patronorum extra ecclesias metropoliticas cathedrales & collegiatis Summus Pontifex de beneficiis de cetero vacaturis habeat provisiones de primo vacaturo & Ordinarius vel Patronus Spiritualis de secundo vacaturo & sic fiet vicissim usque ad finem Pasche prox. futur. & ab inde usque ad idem festum tunc proxime sequens. Ista tamen tolerancia quantum ad provisiones per sedem apostolicam faciend. in beneficiis post dat. presentium vacaturis tantummodo locum obtinebit titulis & possessione antea obtinendum in omnibus semper salvis. Quocirca vobis committimus & mandamus quatinus premissa omnia & singula in dictis brevi & cedula content. in vestris civitate & dioc. literis vestris intimetis & notificetis ac moderacionem in dicta cedula expressatam in persona vestra teneatis & observetis. Vobis etiam ex parte regia injungentes quod moderacionem hujusmodi a Prelatis & Clero dictarum vestrarum civitatis & dioc. teneri faciatis & etiam observari, feriemque & tenorem brevis & cedulae predict. de & super moderacione hujusmodi de qua praefertur universis & singulis confratribus Coepiscopis & Suffraganeis nostris nostre Cantuarien. provincie per literas vestras patentes praemissorum feriem continentes in hac parte conficiend. cum omni celeritate qua commode potueritis

potueritis eciam intimetis & notificetis ac teneri & observari demandetis. Injungentes eisdem ex parte regia quod singuli eorum hujusmodi moderacionem per literas suas sub forma qua decet similiter conficiend. aliis Prelatis & Clero suarum civitatum & dioc. publice intimari & notificari ac teneri & observari faciant prout & secundum quod tenores & effectus brevis & cedula prædictorum in se exigunt et requirunt. Dat. in manerio nostro de Otteford decimo quarto die mensis Februarii Anno Domini Millesimo Trecentesimo Nonagesimo Octavo & nostre Conf. Anno Secundo. Quarum quidem literarum auctoritate vobis omnia & singula in dictis literis contenta seriemque & tenorem brevis & cedula prædict. de & super moderacione hujusmodi de qua præfertur per has literas nostras patentes præmissorum seriem continentes cum ea qua decuit reverencia intimamus & notificamus ac per vos secundum formam & effectum eorundem brevis & cedula teneri & observari mandamus injungentes vobis ex parte regia quod hujusmodi moderacionem per literas vestras sub forma qua decet conficiend. Prelatis & Clero vestrarum civitat & dioc. publice nunciari & notificari ac teneri & observari faciatis prout & secundum quod tenores & effectus brevis & cedula prædictorum nec non literarum Reverendissimi Patris Domini Archiepiscopi antedicti in se exigunt & requirunt. Dat. sub sigillo nostro in manerio nostro de Wykham die vicesimo quarto mens. Februar. Anno Domini Millesimo Trecentesimo Nonagesimo Octavo & nostre Conf. Anno Decimo Octavo. Auctoritate igitur literarum prædictarum vobis committimus & mandamus quatinus omnia & singula in dictis literis contenta seriemque & tenorem brevis & cedula prædict. de & super moderacione hujusmodi Prelatis & clero in nostra Civitate & Archidiaconatu Wynton. constitutis publice nuncietis & notificetis. Injungentes vobis ex parte regia quod hujusmodi moderacionem in persona vestra teneatis & observetis ac eciam a Prelatis & Clero in dictis civitate & Archidiaconatu teneri & observari faciatis prout & secundum quod tenores

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tempores & effectus brevis & cedula ac literarum prædictarum in se exigunt & requirunt. Dat. &c.

N° XVI.

Ex Libro Evidentiarum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton.

N° I. Fol. 18. †

De CANTARIA Wilhelmi Wykeham Episcopi Wynton.

UNIVERSIS Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis præsentibus literas inspecturis, Thomas miseratione divina Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wyntonie Prior humilis & ejusdem loci Conventus, Salutem in eo qui est omnium vera salus. Noverit Universitas vestra quod cum Reverendus in Christo Pater & Dominus Dominus Wilhelmus de Wykeham Wynton. Episcopus nostri Prioratus Patronus, divinæ remunerationis intuitu & pro ipsius animæ salute, in nostri Prioratus exonerationem multimodam & perpetuum relevamen, quoddam corrodiū sive præstationem annuam de domo Prioratus ecclesiæ nostræ Sancti Swithuni Prioratui de Hamele in the Rys in Com. Sutht. valoris annui decem librarum & amplius primitus debet. postmodumque in & ad Custodem Socios & Scholares Col. beatæ Mariæ prope civitatem Wynton. Seynte Marle College of Wynechestre vulgariter nuncupati, & ipsorum Collegium per venerabilem Patrem antedictum noviter fundati, auctoritate apostolica & regia legitime & effectualiter transfat. per eosdem Custodem Socios & Scholares procuraverit & fecerit nobis et successoribus nostris remitti ac in perpetuum relaxari: Idemque Reverendus Pater quendam annuum redditum quadraginta quinque solidorum & quatuor denariorum de manerio de Westmeones, quod quondam fuit Philippi de Marmeon, al. dict. Attehalle, exeuntem Nobis & Prioratui nostro dederit & concesserit pro perpetuo, ac etiam suam & nostram ecclesiam Wynton. ipsius gravibus sumptibus & expensis decentissime & honestissime a fundamentis reparaverit ac etiam renovaverit, ac nobis & ecclesiæ prædict.

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prædict. ad Dei laudem pariter & honorem vestimenta & alla ornamenta quamplurima ex suæ devotionis fervore contulerit: Nos igitur volentes Reverendo Patri antedicto, per quem & cujus interventu tanta beneficia adepti sumus & favorabiliter consecuti, grata vicissitudine respondere, nonnullaque alla bona spiritualia & temporalia Nobis & Prioratui nostro & ecclesiæ nostræ prædictæ a dicto Reverendo Patre magnifice facta pariter & impensa ipsiusque favores multiplices aliquibus bonis spiritualibus & orationum suffragiis pro viribus compensare, concedimus & bona fide promittimus pro nobis & successoribus nostris firmiter in animas nostras præfato Reverendo Patri Domino Wilhelmo nostro Episcopo pariter & Patrono, quod omnia sequentia & subscripta pro salute animæ suæ ac progenitorum & benefactorum ejusdem perpetuis futuris temporibus faciemus & observabimus, eaque sic fieri & observari prout inferius continetur inviolabiliter faciemus. In primis vid. quod Reverendus Pater antedictus in capella in qua suam elegit sepulturam infra Ecclesiam Cath. supradictam in navi ejusdem ex parte australi situat. habebit tres monachos nostri conventus tres missas pro eo & suis benefactoribus cotidie specialiter celebrantes, debebuntque eadem missæ modo quo sequitur perpetualiter celebrari. Prima missa vid. tam in æstate quam yeme summo mane, quæ erit de Sancta Maria: aliæ vero duo missæ die magis lucescente de sanctis aut de temporali secundum devotionem celebrantium dicentur, hora tertia vid. sive sexta: quorum quidem monachorum taliter ut præfertur celebrantium pro eodem Reverendo Patre dum superstes fuerit unusquisque in qualibet ejus missa dicat hanc collect. Rege quæsumus, pro ipsius Reverendi Patris status incolumitate, ac orationem Deus cui proprium, pro animabus patris & matris & benefactorum Reverendi Patris Episcopi supradicti. Postquam vero idem Reverendus Pater subtractus fuerit ab hac luce loco collect. Rege quæsumus, de qua præfertur, dicetur pro eodem Reverendo Patre oratio Deus qui inter apostolicos, singulariter pro eodem. Quibus quidem monachis

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monachis sic ut præfertur celebrantibus Prior qui tunc est, & qui pro tempore erit, singulis diebus tres denarios, vid. cuilibet eorum unum denarium bonæ & usualis monetæ fideliter ministrabit. Sacrista etiam ecclesiæ supradictæ laveniet eisdem tribus monachis omnia officia missæ necessaria vid. panem & vinum, librum & calicem, vestimenta, luminaria altaris, palla, & quæcunque in hac parte ornamenta alia requisita. Concedimus insuper pro nobis & successoribus nostris, quod pueri elemosinariæ de elemosina dicti Prioratus nostri viventes qualibet nocte perpetuis futuris temporibus ad dictam capellam in qua corpus dicti Reverendi Patris cum in fata decessit disponitur tumulari, cantabunt in honore beatæ Mariæ Virginis Antiphonam Salve Regina, vel Ave Regina, & consequenter dicent Psalmum de Profundis cum Oratione Fidelium, vel Inclina, pro animabus patris & matris dicti reverendi Patris, ac pro anima dicti Patris cum ab hac luce subtractus fuerit, & animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Pro præmissis vero Nos Prior prædictus & successores nostri Priores qui pro tempore fuerint solvemus & solvent Elemosinario dictæ domus annuatim ad opus & utilitatem dictorum puerorum sex solidos & octo denarios in festo Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis in perpetuum. Volumus etiam & concedimus pro nobis & successoribus nostris in perpetuum, quod die Sabbati cujuslibet septimanæ futuræ monachi Prioratus nostri in ordine sacerdotali constituti, sani valentes & dispositi ad celebrandum, ordinentur & intulentur in tabula seriatim ad celebrandum missas prædictas cotidie per septimanam tunc sequentem, & si cui de dictis monachis subita infirmitas inter horam matutinarum & missæ hujusmodi celebrand. vel prius accesserit, seu aliud impedimentum legitimum occurrerit, ita quod sic ut præfertur celebrare non possit, tunc de ipsa infirmitate seu impedimento, Priorem, Suppriorem vel tertium Priorem præmunit, ipseque sic præmunitus alium ad celebrandum ut præfertur effectualiter subrogabit, missæque hujusmodi celebrabitur per eundem. Ad quæ omnia & singula facienda implenda & fideliter observanda obligamus

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gamus nos successores & Prioratum nostros prædictos & omnia bona Prioratus nostri prædicti præfato Venerabili Patri ac ipsius heredibus & executoribus ac districtioni & coercioni cujuscunque judicis nostri ecclesiastici vel etiam secularis. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum commune præsentibus apposuimus. Dat. in domo nostra capitulari Wynton. decimo sexto die mensis Augusti Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quarto.

Nº XVII.

TESTAMENTUM

W. WYKEHAM Episcopi Wynton.

E Registro Arundel in Archivis Lamethanis.

Part. I. Fol. 215—218.

Collatum cum Exemplari in Veteri Registro. Coll.
Winton.

IN nomine & honore summæ & individuæ Trinitatis Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Quia omne quod sit in tempore, in tempore corrumpetur, & quodlibet mortale vivens paulatim dilabitur & deficit, donec veniat ad ultimum defectum, qui est mors; & nescio quamdiu subsistam, & quando tollet me Factor meus, eo quod cunctis diebus quibus nunc milito expecto donec veniat immutatio mea; hac meditatione gravi & continua sollicitus & pulsatus ego WILHELMUS WYKEHAM, Altissimo permittente, humilis Minister Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wynton. licet indignus, non ponens spem meam in præsentis vitæ brevitate, quæ est vapor ad modicum parens & subito transiens, sciens me de hac valle miseriæ necessario recessurum, sed diem & horam exitus mei ignorans, ac cupiens mea novissima prævidere priusquam vadam ad eum qui me misit, ad honorem Plasmatoris mei & Domini Jesu Christi Filii Dei, & pro salute animæ meæ, & pro remissione omni-
um

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um delictorum & peccatorum meorum, TESTAMEN-
TUM meum sive ultimam voluntatem meam sana mente
& puro corde, condo, ordino, & facio in hunc modum.

IMPRIMIS lego & recomendo Animam meam omni-
potenti Deo, Plasmatori & Salvatori meo, qui eam cre-
avit ex nichilo; humillimo corde ipsius clementiam
deprecans & requirens ut eam per debitum magnæ mi-
sericordiæ suæ in societate Electorum suorum collocare
dignetur.

ITEM lego Corpus meum, cum ab hac luce migra-
vero, tradendum ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ in medio cujus-
dam Capellæ in Navi dictæ Ecclesiæ ex parte australi
ejusdem per me de novo constructæ.

DE Bonis autem meis, quæ michi contulit clementia
Salvatoris, sic dispono, volo, ordino & lego, viz. Quod
ultra & præter expensas ad honorem & laudem Dei
ratione funeris mei, Servi sui, faciendas, quas committo
dispositioni, ordinationi, & discretioni Executorum &
Amicorum meorum, omnia debita mea quæcunque
quibuscunque personis ex quacunque causa vel occasio-
ne sint debita, plene & integre persolvantur absque
difficultate, contradictione, impedimento seu dilatione
aliquali: et deinde Legata subscripta Legatariis qui-
buscunque plene & integre persolvantur: de quibus
vero onero conscientias Executorum meorum, quod
ipsi Executores mei omnia & singula subscripta, speci-
ficata & legata, plene, bene, fideliter & integre, absque
defalcatione, subtractione, seu diminutione quacunque
faciant & exequantur in omnibus, prout ipsi inde re-
spondere voluerint coram summo Judice Domino meo
Jesu Christo.

ITEM lego, volo & ordino, quod in castro, manerio,
villa, seu loco allo quocunque in quo me mori conti-
gerit, Executores mei donent & distribuunt paupe-
ribus debillioribus & magis indigentibus personis de me
in vita & episcopatu meo tenentibus ibidem, & in omni
loco per quem contigerit corpus meum deferri usque
ad Ecclesiam meam Winton. ad orandum pro salute
animæ meæ cuilibet ipsorum pauperum tenentium
quatuor denarios, & cuilibet alteri, eleemosynam pro

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amore Dei petenti, duos denarios, vel unum denarium ad minus, juxta discretionem & ordinationem ipsorum Executorum meorum.

ITEM volo, ordino & lego, quod Executores mei donent & distribuunt, die sepulturæ corporis mei, cuilibet pauperi indigenti venienti apud Winton. & elemosynam pro amore Dei & salute animæ meæ petenti, quatuor denarios.

ITEM lego Ducentas Libras dividendas inter pauperes prisiones* in prisionis de Newgate in London, Marefcalciæ Regis, Wolveseye, Winton. Oxon. Berks. Guldeforde, Veteris & Novæ Sarum, pro amore Dei, & pro salute animæ meæ.

ITEM, Quia Deus decorem domus suæ & locum habitationis suæ diligit, ad honorem & laudem ipsius Dei, & Domini nostri Jesu Christi, & sanctæ Mariæ matris suæ, Apostolorumque ejus Petri & Pauli, & Patronorum ecclesiæ meæ prædictæ, nec non Sanctorum Birini, Swythuni, Eddæ & Ethelwoldi, quorum corpora & reliquæ in dicta continentur ecclesia; volo & ordino quod Executores mei corpus sive medium ecclesiæ supradictæ inter alas australem & borealem, ab ostio occidentali chori ejusdem ecclesiæ deorsum usque ad finem occidentalem ejusdem ecclesiæ, in muris, fenestris & valto, honeste & honorifice, conformiter & decenter secundum exigentiam, formamque & modum novi operis alarum prædictarum nunc incepti, nec non & easdem alas per idem spatium in longitudine refici faciant, ac debite reparari usque ad summam Duarum Millium & Quingentarum Marcarum, si tantum expendi oporteat in opere supradicto, pro completionem & consummationem ejusdem, juxta modum & formam superius limitat. Hijs tamen conditionibus servatis in præmissis, quod Prior & Conventus ecclesiæ supradictæ inveniant totum scaffaldum ad opus prædictum necessarium, seu etiam opportunum; ac quod gratis & libere permittant & sustineant calcem & zabulum de terris & quareris eorum, ac hominum & tenentium suorum, ubi melius ac utilius, pro celeriori ac feliciori dicti operis expeditione, Executores mei viderint expedire, ad hujusmodi

* Forfan, prisionar, i. e. prisionarios.

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jusmodi novum opus dictæ ecclesiæ, fodi, cariari, & abduci per operarios, a me vel Executoribus meis ad hoc deputandos, quousque opus hujusmodi sic ut præmittitur totaliter compleatur; ita etiam, quod lapides, plumbum, ferramenta, meremium, vitrum, & quæcunque alia materia veteris operis ejusdem ecclesiæ integre cedat, remaneat, & convertatur in usum, auxilium & utilitatem novi operis supradicti. Volo etiam & ordino quod dispositio & ordinatio hujusmodi novi operis fiant per Magistrum Wilhelmum Winsford, & alios sufficientes, discretos, & in arte illa approbatos, ab Executoribus meis, si oportuerit, deputandos: ac quod Dominus Simon Membury nunc dicti operis Supervisor nec non & Solutor, sit etiam Solutor & Supervisor in futurum, durante opere supradicto, per supervisum, testimonium & contra-rotationem fratris Johannis Wayte dictæ ecclesiæ meæ Commonachi, nuncque ex parte dictorum Prioris, & Conventus Contra-rotulatoris operis supradicti, dum modo sanus & incolumis fuerit, & circa hoc laborare potuerit: alioquin ipso deficiente, seu laborare non valente, per supervisum, testimonium & contra-rotationem alterius dictæ ecclesiæ Commonachi, in hac parte discreti sufficientis & ydonei ad hoc per dictos Priorem & Conventum capitulariter eligendi, durante opere memorato. Quodque solutiones pro dictis operibus fiant de tempore ad tempus per ordinationem, dispositionem & discretionem omnium Executorum meorum, vel ad minus quinque de iisdem, de fideliter administrando coram insinuante Testamentum meum hujusmodi juratorum.

ITEM lego pro fenestris tam superioribus quam inferioribus partis australis ecclesiæ prædictæ per me reparatæ, bene & honeste & decenter juxta ordinationem & dispositionem Executorum meorum vitriandis, Quingentas Marcas. Et volo quod fiant hujusmodi fenestræ vitreæ incipiendo in fine occidentali ecclesiæ prædictæ in novo opere per me facto seriatim & in ordine usque ad completionem ac consummationem omnium fenestrarum dicti novi operis partis australis

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antedictæ. Et si quid tunc de dicta summa reman-
ferit non expeditum, volo quod circa fenestras alæ
borealis totaliter expendatur, incipiendo in fine occi-
dentali ad primam fenestram novi operis per me facti,
& sic continuando versus partem orientalem, prout de
parte australi superius specialiter ordinavi.

ITEM lego Domino meo Regi unum par pelvium
argent. & deaurat. cum rosis duplicatis sculptis in
fundo earundem. Et remitto eidem Domino meo
Regi Quingentas Libras de pecunia a me mutuo re-
cepta per eundem.

ITEM lego Domino meo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi
unum anulum aureum cum lapide de ruby. Item
unum par precum de auro appensum ad unum monile de
auro, habens hæc verba insculpta, " I H C EST
AMOR MEUS." Item unum discum eleemosynarium
argenteum & novum formatum ad modum navis.

ITEM lego Successori meo in Episcopatu meo Win-
ton meliorem Librum meum de Officio Pontificali, qui in-
cipit in secundo folio " Dicant excepto." Item meliorem
librum meum missalem, qui incipit in secundo folio
post Kalendare " Tum Angelum." Item lego eidem
Successori meo majorem anulum meum, aureum, pon-
tificalem, cum lapide de saphiro circumdato & ornato
cum quatuor baleys & duobus parvis diamandis, ac
undecim margaritis. Item calceum meum meliorem
deauratum & amelatum in pede cum ymaginibus de
Passione. Item Ponsere meum meliorem operatum &
ornatum cum novem baleys & cxlj margaritis.

ITEM lego Reverendo in Christo Patri Domino Ro-
berto Dei gratia London. Episcopo majorem lectum
meum rubeum de serico, qui pendere solet in majori
camera Palatii Winton. cum toto apparatu ejusdem, ac
totam sectam de tapetis rubeis cameræ prædictæ, qui-
bus uti soleo cum eodem lecto ibidem.

ITEM lego Ecclesiæ meæ Winton. vestimentum me-
um novum de blodio panno, virgato & operato cum
leonibus de auro, cum viginti capis de eodem panno
aurifrigiatis cum historia de Jesse. Item lego eidem
ecclesiæ meæ unum vas de berillo, ordinatum pro
corpore

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corpore Christi. Item unam crucem de auro cum reliquiis de ligno Dominico.

ITEM lego Priori ecclesiæ meæ prædictæ ad orandum pro anima mea unum cyphum argenteum deauratum cum cooperculo, & unum aquarium argenteum deauratum, pretii amborum Viginti Librarum.

ITEM lego singulis Monachis ejusdem ecclesiæ in ordine sacerdotali constitutis ad orandum pro anima mea Quinque Marcas; cuilibet autem Monacho ejusdem ecclesiæ non Presbytero, in minoribus ordinibus constituto, lego Quadraginta Solidos ad orandum pro anima mea.

ITEM lego Collegio meo Oxon. mitram meam & baculum meum pastorem, ac dalmaticas & sandalia mea.

ITEM lego Collegio meo Winton. aliam mitram meam planam, aurifrigiatam, ac bibliam meam usualem. Item librum vocatum "Catholicon." Item librum vocatum "Rationale Divinorum." Item librum vocatum "Florarium Bartholomæi." Item librum de Vita Sancti Thomæ, vocatum "Thomas." Item librum vocatum "Pars Oculi."

ITEM lege Custodi Coll. mei Oxon. Decem Marcas & unum cyphum argenteum deauratum cum cooperculo, & unum aquarium argenteum deauratum, pretii amborum Viginti Marcarum; quem quidem cyphum cum cooperculo & aquarium volo dicto Custodi & suis in ipsius officio Successoribus ad usum suum & dicti Collegii pro perpetuo remanere.

ITEM lego cuilibet Socio perpetuo ejusdem Coll. in ordine sacerdotali constituto Viginti Sex Solidos & Octo Denarios; cuilibet autem Socio non Presbytero in sacris ordinibus constituto Viginti Solidos; cuilibet vero Socio in minoribus ordinibus constituto Sexdecim Solidos Octo Denarios; ac unicuique Scholari ejusdem Coll. infra probationis annos existenti, dum tamen steterit per annum in Collegio postquam receptus fuerit in verum & perpetuum Socium ejusdem, Tresdecim Solidos Quatuor Denarios Sterlingorum.

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ITEM lego cuilibet Capellano conductitio Capellæ Coll. mei Oxon. per biennium continuum a die mortis meæ moram in dicto Coll. facienti, & divina celebranti in eodem, Viginti Solidos. Et volo, ordino, & dispono, quod singulis diebus a die mortis meæ notæ in dicto Coll. usque ad diem solemnitatis sepulture meæ & per quadraginta dies ex tunc immediate sequentes dicatur in communi in Capella ipsius Coll. cum nota officium mortuorum ac missa solemnis de Requiem pro anima mea, & animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.

ITEM lego Decem Libras dividendas & distribuendas inter Clericos & Choristas Capellæ dicti Coll. Oxon. ac servientes Intrinsecos communes ipsius Coll. juxta discretionem Custodis Vicecustodis & Bursariorum Collegii memorati.

ITEM lego Custodi Coll. mei Winton. Decem Marcas & unum cyphum argenteum deauratum, cum cooperculo, & unum aquarium argenteum deauratum, pretii amborum Viginti Marcarum. Quem quidem cyphum cum cooperculo & aquario volo dicto Custodi & suis in ipsius officio Successoribus ad usum suum & dicti Coll. pro perpetuo remanere.

ITEM lego cuilibet Socio perpetuo Presbytero ejusdem Coll. mei Winton. Viginti Sex Solidos & Octo Denarios; cuilibet autem Capellano conductitio Capellæ Coll. mei juxta Winton. Viginti Solidos: ac Magistro Thomæ Romfeye Instructori Scholarium Coll. prædicti Centum Solidos, Sub-instructori vero sive Hostiario Viginti Solidos. Et volo quod singulis diebus a die mortis meæ usque ad diem solemnitatis sepulture meæ, & per quadraginta dies extunc immediate sequentes dicatur in communi in Capella dicti Coll. Winton. cum nota officium mortuorum & missa solemnis de Requiem pro salute animæ meæ & omnium fidelium defunctorum.

ITEM lego cuilibet Scholari Coll. mei Winton. Sex Solidos & Octo Denarios.

ITEM lego Decem Marcas Sterlingorum dividendas & distribuendas inter Clericos & Choristas dicti Coll. Winton.

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Winton. ac Servientes intrinsecos communes ipsius Coll. juxta discretionem Custodis Vicecustodis & Bur-
sariorum Coll. memorati.

ITEM lego Fabricæ Ecclesiæ Sarum Viginti Libras pro exequiis die obitus mei, & die tricesimo a tempore mortis meæ, inter ipsius ecclesiæ Canonicos & Ministros solemnius celebrandis.

ITEM lego Abbati Monasterii de Hyda ad orandum pro anima mea unum cyphum argenteum deauratum cum cooperculo, pretii Decem Librarum: & cuilibet Monacho ejusdem Monasterii in ordine sacerdotali constituto Quadraginta Solidos, cuilibet vero alteri dicti Monasterii Monacho in minoribus ordinibus constituto Viginti Solidos, ad orandum pro anima mea.

ITEM lego Abbatissæ Monasterii Sanctæ Mariæ Winton. Quinque Marcas Sterlingorum; cuilibet autem Moniali ejusdem Monasterii lego Tresdecim Solidos Quatuor Denarios.

ITEM lego Priori & Conventui Beatæ Mariæ de Overe in Suthwerk meorum Patronatus & Diocesios pro reparatione ecclesiæ ipsorum & ad orandum pro anima mea Quadraginta Libras Sterlingorum in quibus michi tenentur.

ITEM lego Abbati & Conventui de Waverle meorum Patronatus & Diocesios ad orandum pro anima mea Decem Libras.

ITEM lego Abbathiæ de Tychefeld meorum Patronatus & Diocesios unum par vestimentorum cum calice.

ITEM lego Priori & Conventui de Tanton mei Patronatus Bathoniensis Diocesios ad orandum pro anima mea Centum Marcas Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Abbatissæ Monasterii Monalium de Romefeye Quinque Marcas Sterlingorum

ITEM lego Felic. Aas * Moniali ejusdem Monasterii Centum Solidos; cuilibet vero alteri Moniali ejusdem Monasterii lego Tresdecim Solidos & Quatuor Denarios.

* Ays. Registr. Arundel.

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ITEM lego Abbatissæ & Conventui ejusdem Monasterii pro reparatione ecclesiæ suæ & claustrî ejusdem Monasterii Quadraginta Libras Sterlingorum in quibus michi nunc ex mutuo tenentur.

ITEM lego Fabricæ Ecclesiæ Parochialis ibidem Viginti Marcas.

ITEM lego Abbatissæ & Conventui de Wherewell ad orandum pro anima mea Viginti Marcas.

ITEM lego Priori & Conventui Sancti Dionysii juxta Suthampton ad reparandum & emendandum defectus ecclesiæ ipsorum Viginti Marcas.

ITEM lego Priorissæ & Conventui de Wyntency ad orandum pro anima mea Decem Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Priori & Conventui de Taurigge meæ Diocesios ad orandum pro anima mea Centum Solidos.

ITEM lego ad distribuendum inter Fratres & Sorores ac Pauperes Hospitalis Sancti Thomæ in Suthwerk ad orandum pro anima mea juxta discretionem Executorum meorum Decem Marcas.

ITEM lego Hospitali Sanctæ Crucis juxta Winton. unum par vestimentorum cum calice, & unum par pelvium argent. cum † Feer de Molyn sculptis in fundo earundem ad modum crucis.

ITEM lego Hospitali Sancti Nicholai de Portesmouth unum par vestimentorum cum calice.

ITEM lego Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Suthampton unum par vestimentorum cum calice.

ITEM lego Collegio Sanctæ Elizabethæ unum par pelvium argent. cum ymagine Sancti Martini sedente in equo sculpt. in fundo earundem, ac duos urciolos argenteos ad usum summi altaris ibidem.

ITEM lego Hospitali Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenzæ prope Civitatem Winton. pro reparatione ecclesiæ ac domorum & tenementorum ejusdem Hospitalis Centum Solidos.

ITEM lego Sororibus Hospitalis Eleemosynariæ Ecclesiæ meæ Sancti Swythuni Quadraginta Solidos inter ipsas æqualiter dividendos ad orandum pro anima mea.

† Fer de Moulin; *i. e.* The Iron of a Mill; a Bearing in Heraldry.

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ITEM lego Ecclesiæ de Hameldon unum portiforium Capellæ meæ juxta electionem & discretionem Executorum meorum, & unum calicem.

ITEM lego consimili modo Ecclesiæ de Estmeone unum aliud portiforium dictæ Capellæ meæ & unum calicem.

ITEM lego cuilibet Ecclesiarum subscriptarum, viz. Wytteney, Farnham, Chiriton, Havonte, & Burghclere, mei Patronatus, unum vestimentum integrum viz. pro Sacerdote, Diacono, & Sub-diacono, cum capa etiam & uno calice.

ITEM lego cuilibet Ecclesiarum subscriptarum viz. Fallegh, Crawle, Alwardstoke, South-Waltham, & Drogenesford, meorum Patronatus & Dioecesios, unam capam de capis usualibus in Capella mea juxta discretionem Executorum meorum, nec non unum calicem.

ITEM lego cuilibet Conventui quatuor Ordinum Fratrum Mendicantium Civitatis Winton. Decem Marcas ad orandum pro anima mea.

ITEM lego Aliciæ Perot consanguineæ meæ Centum Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Magistro Johanni Wykeham Rectori Ecclesiæ de Crondale Centum Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Edithæ Ryngbourne consanguineæ meæ pro se & liberis suis non maritatis nec promotis Centum Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Agneti Wodelok consanguineæ meæ pro se & liberis suis non maritatis nec promotis Centum Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Johannæ uxori Wilhelmi Mavyell pro se & liberis suis non maritatis nec promotis Quadraginta Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Edithæ uxori Wilhelmi Croyser consanguineæ meæ centum Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Dominæ Agneti Sandes consanguineæ meæ pro se & liberis suis non maritatis nec promotis Centum Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Thomæ Warenner Quinquaginta Marcas in quibus michi per scriptum suum obligatorium tenetur.

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ITEM lego Thomæ filio & hæredi ejusdem Thomæ consanguineo meo Viginti Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Riginald. filio ejusdem Thomæ Warren consanguineo meo Viginti Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Wilhelmo Ryngebourne consanguineo meo Viginti Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM Johanni Benett de Bottele consanguineo meo Viginti Libras Sterlingorum.

ITEM lego Magistro Johanni Wykeham Rectori Ecclesiæ de Biriton pro inceptione sua in theologia & aliis actibus scholasticis Quinquaginta Libras.

ITEM lego Elenæ forori Magistri Nicholai Wykeham pro se & liberis suis non maritatis nec promotis Viginti Libras.

ITEM lego Selote Purbyk Decem Libras.

ITEM lego duobus Capitalibus Justiciariis Domini Regis, de Banco Domini Regis & de communi Banco, cuilibet ipsorum unum anulum aureum cum uno dyamand. vel unum de parvis tablettis ad valorem Centum Solidorum.

ITEM lego Domino Wilhelmo Hengford unum anulum aureum vel unum tablett. ad valorem Centum Solidorum.

ITEM lego Domino Roberto Faryngton unum psalterium & unum par precum.

ITEM lego Johanni Uvedale unum cyphum argenteum vel aliud jocale ad valorem Decem Marcarum.

ITEM lego Henrico Popham unum cyphum argenteum vel aliud jocale ad valorem Decem Marcarum.

ITEM lego Johanni Chamflour, Nicholao Bray, & Stephano Carre, cuilibet ipsorum unum cyphum vel aliud jocale ad valorem Centum Solidorum.

ITEM lego Domino Wilhelmo Savage Rectori Ecclesiæ de Overton Viginti Libras.

ITEM Domino Johanni Keton Præcentori Ecclesiæ Suthampton Viginti Libras.

ITEM volo, ordino & lego, quod Executores mei donent & distribuunt personis in Rotulo huic præsentis Testamento annexo, & sigillo meo sigillato, conscriptis,

A P P E N D I X. xlv

tis, res & summas in eodem rotulo ipsarum singulis designatas ac etiam limitatas.

ITEM lego Executoribus meis onus administrationis hujus Testamenti mei in se suscipientibus summam Mille Librarum inter ipsos æqualiter dividendam, nomine remunerationis laboris eorundem circa executionem Testamenti prædicti; ita tamen, quod nullus dierum Executorum meorum quicquam in dicta summa percipiat seu participet, nisi hujus Testamenti mei onus administrationis in se susceperit & admiserit, ac de fideliter administrando in bonis hujusmodi Testamentum meum concernentibus, coram illo, per quem Testamenti hujus probationem fieri continget, ad sancta Dei Evangelia præstet corporaliter juramentum.

RESIDUUM vero bonorum meorum superius non legatorum, do, lego & committo ordinationi ac dispositioni Executorum meorum subscriptorum; ut ipsi de bonis meis prædictis pro salute & remedio animæ meæ ordinent ac fideliter disponant sicut in districto examine coram Summo Judice voluerint respondere.

Hujus autem Testamenti mei Executores ordino, facio, & constituo; Reverendum in Christo Patrem Dominum Robertum, Dei gratia, Londonien. Episcopum, ac venerabiles viros Magistros Nicholaum Wykeham, Johannem Elmere, & Johannem Campeden, Thomam Chelrey Senescallum terrarum Episcopatus mei Winton. Thomam Wykeham consanguineum meum & hæredem, ac Dominum Thomam Ayleward Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Havonte.

Dat. apud South-Waltham vicesimo quarto die Mensis Julii, Anno ab Incarnatione Domini secundum cursum & computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Millesimo Quadringentesimo Tertio. Indiccione undecima Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Bonifacii divina Providentia Papæ Noni Anno Decimo Quarto.

Præsentibus discretis viris Dominis Wilhelmo
Norton, Thoma Lavynghon, Wilhelmo
Boutillere

Boutillere & Johanne Knyght, ac me
Wilhelmo Doune Notario Publico hujus
Testamenti Scriba, Testibus ad hoc voca-
tis specialiter & rogatis.

ET EGO Wilhelmus Doune Clericus Exon. Dioc.
Publicus auctoritate apostolica Notarius prædicti Tes-
tamenti faccioni, voluntati, ordinationi, dispositioni,
Executorum nominationi & constitutioni, testiumque
prædictorum rogationi, ac cæteris omnibus & singu-
lis præmissis, dum sic ut præmittitur per Reverendum
Patrem Dominum Wilhelmum Wykeham Episcopum
Winton. sub anno, indiccione, pontificatu, mense, die,
& loco prædictis agebantur & fiebant, una cum præ-
nominatis testibus præsens interfui, eaque sic fieri vidi
& audiui: ac de mandato ejusdem Reverendi Patris
scripsi & in hanc publicam formam redegì, signoque
& nomine meis consuetis signavi in fidem & testimo-
nium omnium præmissorum.

C O D I C E L.

A P P E N D I X. xlvii

CODICELLUS sive ROTULUS de quo supra fit mentio.

Thomas Chelrey de vasis argent. ad valorem	-	-	-	1. libr.
Thomas Wykeham de vasis argent. ad valorem	-	-	-	1. libr.
Magister Nicholaus Wykeham de vasis argent. ad valorem	-	-	-	1. libr.
Magister Johannes Ellemere de vaf. argent. ad val.	-	-	-	1. libr.
Magister Johannes Campeden de vaf. arg. ad val.	-	-	-	1. libr.
Magister Robertus Keton de vaf. arg. ad val.	-	-	-	1. s. d.
Thomas Aylward de vaf. arg. ad val.	-	-	-	xxvj xij liij
Wilhelmus Norton de vaf. arg. ad val.	-	-	-	1. libr.
Thomas Lavyngton de vaf. arg. ad val.	-	-	-	xxvj xij liij
Wilhelmus Butillere xx Libr. cum uno calice præterea.	-	-	-	xxvj xij liij
Walterus Aude	-	-	-	xx libr.
Johannes Sturmifstre xx Libr. cum uno calice.	-	-	-	
Johannes Lytton	-	-	-	x libr.
Johannes Bussh	-	-	-	xx libr.
Richardus Chichestre	-	-	-	vj xij liij
Johannes Knyght xx Libr. cum uno calice	-	-	-	
Johannes Langele	-	-	-	vj xij liij
Johannes Hende	-	-	-	c. s.
Joc. Bailliff	-	-	-	c. s.
Wilhelmus Brocheband xx Libr. cum uno cippo argent.	-	-	-	
Johannes Foxle	-	-	-	x libr.
Wilhelmus Westynton	-	-	-	x libr.
Radulphus Arches	-	-	-	c. s.
Johannes Dantre c Solid. de oblig.	-	-	-	
Wilhelmus Changelton	-	-	-	c. s.

Johannes

xlviij A P P E N D I X.

Johannes Coudray	- - - - -	c. s.
Guido Denham	- - - - -	c. s.
Nicholaus Gifrewast	- - - - -	lxvi s viij d.
Thomas Penne	- - - - -	lxvi s viij d
Johannes Arnold	- - - - -	c. s.
Johannes Shire	- - - - -	c. s.
Johannes Devenish	c Solid. de oblig.	
Johannes Prewes	- - - - -	lxvj s viij d
Johannes Pope	- - - - -	vj l xiiij s iij d
Nicholaus Hackestalle	- - - - -	lxvj s viij d
Wilhelmus Doune	- - - - -	c. s.
Wilhelmus Grene	- - - - -	lxvj s viij d
Johannes Boscham	- - - - -	xl s.
Stephanus Austel	- - - - -	xl s.
Nicholaus Sturgeon	- - - - -	xl s.
Wilhelmus Welde	- - - - -	xl s.
Rogerus de Camera	- - - - -	c. s.
		l. s. d.
Petrus Knyght	- - - - -	vj xiiij iij
Johannes Barbour	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Nicholaus Gerveys	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Wilhelmus Peti-John	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Wilhelmus Saleman	- - - - -	vj xiiij iij
Richardus Crokkere	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Johannes Combe	- - - - -	vj xiiij iij
Johannes Cranbourne	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Thomas Somer	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Robertus Hertele	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Robertus Goos	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Richardus Bonyet	- - - - -	xl s.
Johannes Skyrewhit	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Thomas Squiller	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Robertus Grey	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Johannes Namby	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Johannes Golde	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Johannes Gay	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Wilhelmus Wayte	- - - - -	lxvj viij
Thomas Bakere Huntene	- - - - -	xl s.
Johannes Ferroure	- - - - -	lxvj viij
		Petrus

A P P E N D I X. xlix

Petrus Hyndon
Thomas Payn
Johannes Mundy
Wilhelmus [* Ruffel]
Richardus [* Wintrythe]
Galfridus [* Bowyar]

Cuilibet - - xx solid.

Nicholaus Bucher
Johannes Gare Butellar.
Richardus Howe
Richardus Forde
Rogerus Gare Aulæ
Johannes Bury
Thomas Lavender
Johannes Bolt
Johannes Frythe
Nicholaus Bonde
Rogerus Gare Pistrinæ
Richardus Smith g. came-
ræ Domini

Cuilibet - - xl solid.

Thomas Rede
Gardinar. de Waltham
Johannes Fox
Wilhelmus Gog
Johannes Martyn
Richardus Bikebrok
Johannes Stanes
Wilhelmus Ballif
Johannes Billebury
Robertus Bathe
Johannes Lemere
Wilhelmus Aldewyne

Garcio Venatoris
Pag. Char. Goos
Pag. Char. Somer
Pag. Lavendr.
Pag. Pistrinæ

Cuilibet - - xx solid.

A P P E N D I X.

Pag. Palfr.	}	Cullibet - - xx solid.
Pag. Pult.		
Pag. Carnific.		
Rogerus Sourlond		
Pag. Squiller		
Johannes Smyth		
Johannes Fox, junior.		
Johannes Wayte		
Pag. Hak.		

Simon Membury	x libr.	
Vicar de Sombourn Registr. unum ci-	}	x marc.
phum arg. cum coopereulo ad valorem		
[* Johannes Doun Clericus Registr. quinque marc.]		

Wilhelmus Mavyel	}	Cullibet istorum c. s. vel unum ciphum arg. ad valorem c. s. ad electio- nem Executorum.
Johannes Arches		
Wilhelmus Faulkener		
Johannes Dekene		
Edwardus Coudray		
Johannes Fromond		
Richardus Wallop		
Richardus Elys		
Thomas Warennere		
Walterus Hoke		

Richardus Prewes Clericus Episcopatus	x libr.
Wilhelmus Portman Clericus de Taunton +	
Wilhelmus Lamport Clericus de Dounton	lxxvj s viij d
Edmundus Nyng Clericus de Twyford	c. s
Richardus Sydal Clericus de Wytteneye	lxxvj s viij d
Johannes Compton Clericus de Wergrave	lxxvj s viij d
Henricus Habraham Clericus de Sutton	c. s
Wilhelmus Knyght Clericus de Meone	x libr.
Richardus Knollere Clericus de Waltham	c. s
Wilhelmus Pope Clericus de Clere	c. s
Johannes Shire Clericus de Farnham	lxxvj s viij d
Johannes Myst	x libr.

* Vet. Registr. Coll. Wint.

† Ita Registr. Arundel. Deest in Vet. Registr. Coll. Wint.

Janitor

A P P E N D I X. H

Janitor de Taunton Janitor de Wolvesey Janitor de Farnham Janitor London.	}	juxta discrecionem Executorum.
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Parcarius	{	de Taunton de Waltham de Farnham de Hameldon de Meone de Merton de Merewell de Clere de Sutton de Farham de Biterne	}	juxta discrecionem Executorum.
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Custos Warennæ de Overton Custos Warennæ de Farnham Custos Warennæ de Wergrave Custos Warennæ de Longwode Thomas Buckingham Warenari- narius de Esshire	}	juxta discrecionem Executorum.
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I N D E I N O M I N E A M E N. Ego Wilhelmus Wykeham Altissimo permittente humilis Minister Ecclesiæ Cath. Wynt. licet indignus, considerans quod ambulatoria est voluntas testantium usque ad vitæ ipsorum exitum, nec non ad mentem meam revocans, ac memoriæ reducens, quod post Testamenti meifactionem, nonnulla in eodem Testamento legata, ordinata, & disposita, sunt per me divina gratia assistente juxta dictæ ultimæ voluntatis meæ dispositionem adimpleta & executioni realiter demandata; idcirco codicillando quoad omnia legata hujusmodi, quæ duxi præsentibus codicillis specialius exprimenda, Executores in præfato Testamento meo nominatos volo esse penitus exoneratos etiam & quietos, ac eadem legata expresse adimo per præsentis. In primis legatum Ducentarum
Librarum

Librarum relictum pauperibus prisonis * In Testamento meo prædicto. Item legatum vestimenti novi de blod, panno virgato & operato cum leonibus de auro, cum triginta capis de eodem panno aurifrigiatis cum historia de Jesse relictum Ecclesiæ meæ Wynton, in eodem. Item legatum relictum in eodem Abbati Mon. de Hyda & cuilibet monacho ejusdem Mon. Item legatum precum relictum in eodem Domino Roberto Faryngton. Item Quinquaginta Marcas de legato C Librarum relict. in eodem Aliciæ Perot consanguineæ meæ. Item omnia & singula legata relict. in quodam Rotulo eidem Testamento annexo & sigillo meo sigillato, de quo in eodem Testamento meo fit mentio, personis in eodem Rotulo matriculatis adscripta adimo, eo quod de eisdem agens in humanis meam complevi in omnibus voluntatem. Item volo & ordino quod si quæ alia de relictis ordinatis & dispositis in Testamento meo aut præsentibus codicillis per me perantea aut in futurum dum fuero in humanis fuerint facta soluta vel etiam executi quod illa cessent post mortem meam, ac ea exnunc prout extunc adimo: & quod ad ipsa facienda solvenda vel exequenda Executores mei nullatenus onerentur seu etiam compellantur, sed quod in illis omnibus sint liberi quieti & prorsus absoluti. Fact. fuerunt prædict. Codicill. per me Wilhelmum Wykeham antedictum apud Southwaltham decimo die Mensis Januarii Anno ab Incarnatione Domini secundum cursum & computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Millesimo Quadringentesimo Tertio, Indiccione Duodecima, Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Bonifacii divina providentia Papæ Noni Anno Quintodecimo præsentibus discretis viris Dominis Wilhelmo Norton, Thoma Lavyngton, Johanne Knyght & Johanne Bussh Presbyteris, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter & rogatis. Et ego Wilhelmus Doune Clericus Exonien. Dioc. Publicus auctoritate apostolica Notarius prædict. Codicill. factioni testium rogacioni ac cæteris omnibus & singulis dum sic ut præmittitur per Reverendum Patrem Dominum Wilhelmum Wyke-

* Forson, prisonis.

A P P E N D I X. III

Wykeham Episcopum Wynton. sub Anno, Indictione, Pont. mense, die, & loco prædictis agebantur & fiebant, una cum prænominatis testibus præsens interful, eaque sic fieri vidi & audiui, scripsi & in hanc publicam formam redegi, signoque & nomine meis consuetis signavi requisitus in fidem & testimonium omnium præmissorum.

T E N O R E præsentium Nos Thomas, &c. notum facimus universis quod nono die Mensis Octobris Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quarto, in hospitio nostro in Civitate Coventr. superscript. Testamentum bonæ memoriæ Wilhelmi Wykeham ultimi Wynt. Episcopi nostræ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ dum vixit Suffraganei jam defuncti, una cum codicill. præsentibus annex. coram nobis exhibit. & legitime probat. approbavimus & insinuavimus ac pro veris Testamento & Codicillo & ultima voluntate dicti defuncti legitime juxta juris exigentiam pronuntiavimus, nec non ad committend. in forma juris Executoribus in eodem Testamento nominatis administrationem omnium bonorum hujusmodi Testamentum & Codicillum concernentium, dilectis in Christo filiis Magistro Johanni Maydenheth Vicario nostro in spiritualibus & Custodi spiritualitatis Civitatis & Dioc. Wynton. sede episcopali ibidem vacante, & fratri Thomæ Nevyle Priori Ecclesiæ Wynton. communiter & divisim commisimus vices nostras. In quorum testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Dat. die, loco, mense, & Anno Domini supradictis; & nostræ translationis anno nono.

T H O M A S permissione divina, &c. dilectis in Christo filiis Magistro Johanni Maydenheth Vicario nostro in spiritualibus & Custodi spiritualitatis Civitat. & Dioc. Wynt. sede episcopali ibidem vacante, ac fratri Thomæ Nevyle Priori Ecclesiæ Wynt. Salutem Gratiam & Benedictionem. Ad committendum in forma juris administrationem omnium bonorum quæ fuerint bonæ memoriæ Domini Wilhelmi Wykeham ultimi Wynt.

lv A P P E N D I X.

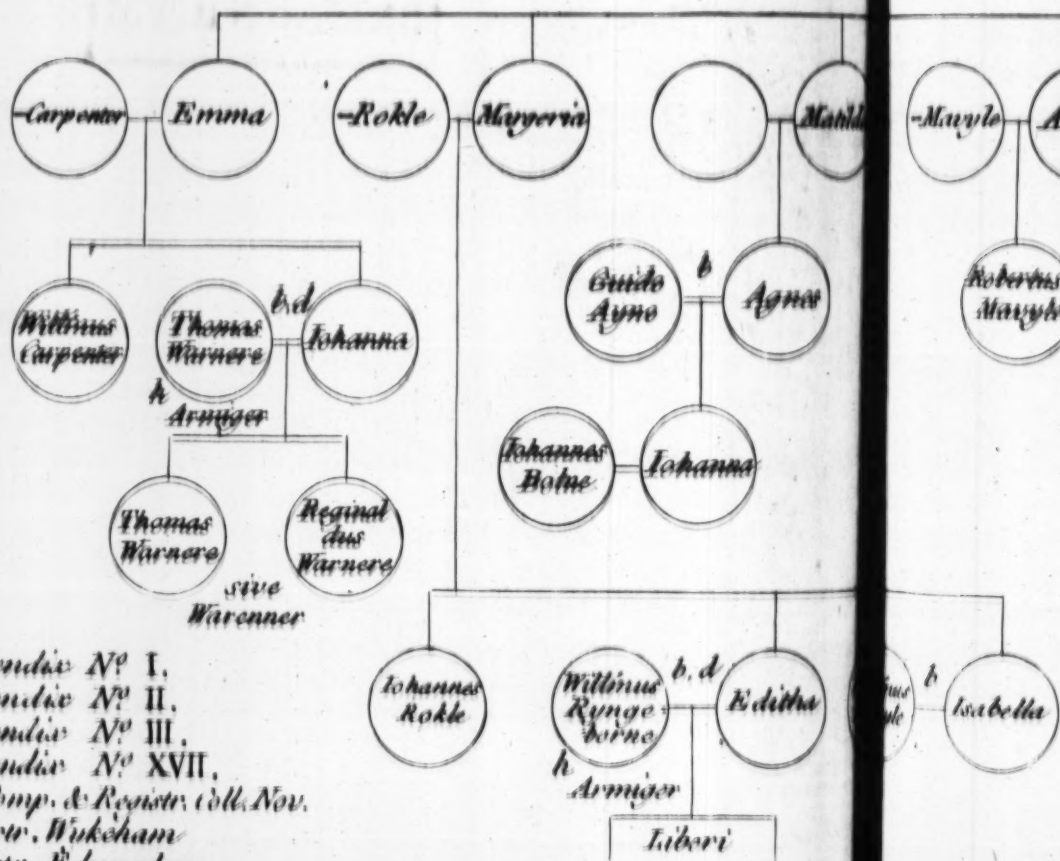
Wynt. Episcopi nostræ Cant. Ecclesiæ dum vixit Sufraganei jam defuncti tempore mortis sue suum concernent. Testamentum & ejus ultimam voluntatem eorū nobis probat. ac per nos etiam approbat. ubicunque infra nostram provinciam existentium Executoribus in eodem Testamento nominatis si eam suscipere & admittere voluerint præstito primitus per eosdem & eorum quemlibet juramento ad sancta Dei Evangelia per eos corporaliter tacta, quod fidele Inventarium bonorum hujusmodi conficiant, ac ipsa juxta ultimam prædicti defuncti voluntatem fideliter administrabunt, ac nobis de & supra administratione sua hujusmodi fidelem compotum sive ratiocinium reddent, cum super hoc congrue fuerint requisiti, quodque acquietanciam vel acquietancias aliquibus debitoribus ipsius defuncti non conficiant nec conficiet aliquis eorundem sine consensu majoris & sanioris partis Executorum suorum, nec aliqua de bonis prædictis sibi appropriabunt vel usurpabunt, seu sic appropriabit vel usurpabit aliquis de eisdem, salvo legatis eis relictis & dispositis per defunctum, & rationabilibus expensis circa administrationem hujusmodi exponend. vobis communiter & divisim tenore præsentium committimus vices nostras & plenam potestatem. Et quod in præmissis feceritis nos ante festum Sancti Andreæ Apostoli prox. futur. debite certificetis per vestras patentes litteras harum seriem & nomina & cognomina Executorum quibus hujusmodi administrationem ut præmittitur commiseritis continentes. Dat. in hospitio nostro Coventriæ nono die Mensis Octobr. Anno Domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Quarto. Et nostræ translationis anno nono.





Consanguinei incerti

e, f. *Nicholaus Wykeham, Custos Coll. Nov. &c.*
d. *Elena Soror Nicholai Wykeham, & liberi ejus.*
e, f. *Richardus de Wykeham, Cust. Hosp. S^{ti} Nicholai Portsmouth.*
e, f. *Johannes Wykeham, aliter dictus ffroyan.*
e, d. *Johannes Wykeham, Rector de Buriton.*
d. *Agnes Wodelok, & liberi ejus.*
d. *Johanna Uxor Willmi Maryell, & liberi ejus.*
d. *Domina Agnes Sandes, & liberi ejus.*
d. *Editha Uxor Willmi Croyser.*
b, d. *Johannes Benet de Bottele.*
d. *Willmus Ryngebourne Domicellus. f.*



- a. Appendix N^o I.
- b. Appendix N^o II.
- c. Appendix N^o III.
- d. Appendix N^o XVII.
- e. Rot. Comp. & Registr. Coll. Nov.
- f. Registr. Wykeham
- g. Registr. Edinodon
- h. Lib. Evident. Eccl. Wynt. N^o I.
- i. Appendix N^o IV.

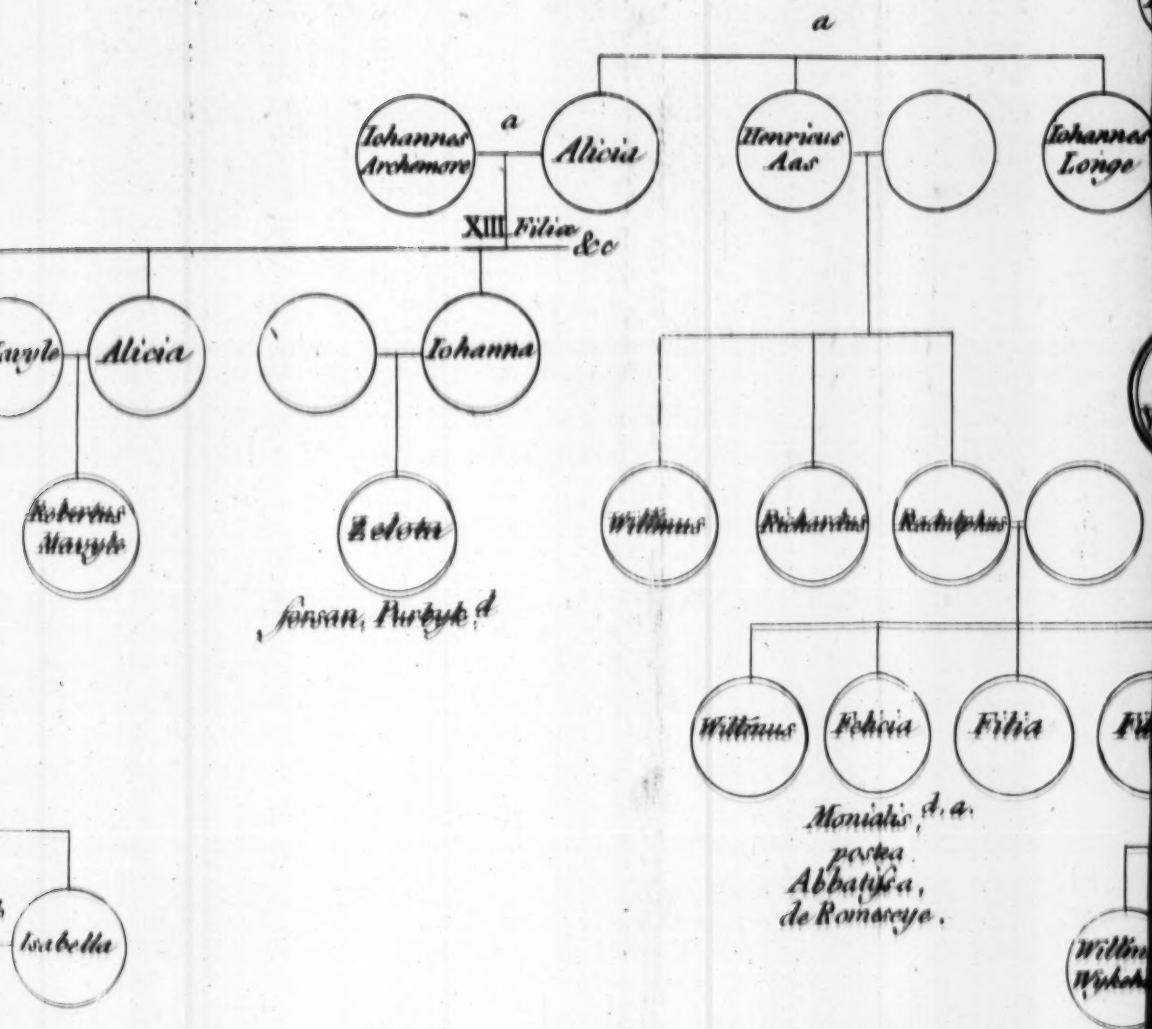
certum quo gradu.

APPENDIX
Nº XVIII.

Adam Del. } "Litterati Dioc. Wynt.
Edwardus Del. } "Consanguinei Dni. W^mi Wykeham,
Johannes Del. } "habent litteras
Richardus As. } "dimissorias ad
Henricus As. } "primam tonsuram,
"6^{to} Octobr. 1366." g.

e. f. *Johannes Dele' Rector de Stockton, 1397.*

e. *Wiltmus Aas, Soc. Coll. Nov. 1404.*



Nº XVIII.

[illegible]



Filice